



MONASTIC ESTATES IN LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY
ISLAMIC EGYPT

OSTRACA, PAPYRI, AND ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF
SARAH CLACKSON



Sarah Clarkson (1965-2003)

AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

Series Editor
Ann Ellis Hanson

VOLUME 46
MONASTIC ESTATES IN LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT
OSTRACA, PAPYRI, AND ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF SARAH CLACKSON
(*P. Clackson*)

EDITED BY
ANNE BOUD'HORS, JAMES CLACKSON, CATHERINE LOUIS, AND PETILA SUPESTEIN

MONASTIC ESTATES IN LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY
ISLAMIC EGYPT

OSTRACA, PAPYRI, AND ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF
SARAH CLACKSON

(P. CLACKSON)

EDITED BY

ANNE BOUD'HORS, JAMES CLACKSON, CATHERINE LOUIS,
AND PETRA SHPESTEIN

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS
CINCINNATI, OHIO

LN216

3444

PS

2012

, 068

4100

2017

Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt.
Ostraca, Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clarkson (*P. Clarkson*)

Anne Bowd'hors, James Clarkson, Catherine Louis, and Petra Sijpesteijn

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Monastic estates in late antique and early Islamic Egypt : ostraca, papyri,
and studies in honour of Sarah Clarkson / edited by Anne Bowd'hors ... [et
al.]

p. cm. — (American studies in papyrology ; v. 46)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-9700591-8-5 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-9700591-8-5 (alk. paper)

1. Coptic philology. 2. Ostraca—Egypt. 3. Coptic language—Papyri. I.
Clarkson, S. (Sarah) II. Bowd'hors, Anne.

P12017 C38M66 2008

495.2—dc22

2008037136

Copyright © 2009 The American Society of Papyrologists

ISBN 10 0-9700591-8-3
ISBN 13 978-0-9700591-8-5

CONTENTS

EDITORS' PREFACE	iv
SARAH C. JACKSON AND COPTIC Papyrology — R.S. BAGSHALL	vi
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SARAH C. JACKSON	xx
NOTE ON EDITORIAL PROCEDURE	xxv
TABLE OF OSTRACON, PapyRI AND ESSAYS	xx
LIST OF PLATES	xxii
OSTRACON I (C. JACKSON I-34)	1
PapyRI P. C. JACKSON 35-50	52
ESSAYS	129
INDEXES	245
PLATES	251

PREFACE

During the last months of her life, Sarah commented several times on her remarkable luck in having been able to spend her working time doing what she liked doing best: reconstructing monastic archives and editing papers. As yet another proof of her commitment to her research and the seriousness of purpose with which she approached her field, she had expressed the wish that a conference be organised in her memory at Oxford dedicated to the topic of her research. In her short but intensive career, Sarah had built up an extensive international scholarly network, and scholars from all over the world, many of them friends as well as Sarah's colleagues, came to Christ Church, Oxford, in September 2004 to participate in a two-day symposium entitled 'The Administration of Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt'.

That this conference was possible we owe to the financial support and involvement of several individuals and institutions, and we thank them warmly for the conference's success. Christ Church was a most apteqable host and we would like to thank Dirk Obbink for facilitating the arrangements with the college. Without the generous funding of the British Academy, the Oriental Institute at Oxford, Christ's College Cambridge and the Griffith Institute, we would not have been able to sponsor the presence of so many eminent scholars from around the world. We are also very grateful for the moral support and kind help of Dorothy Thompson and John Haines.

This volume collects the papers presented at Sarah's conference with five additional ones: *P.C. Jackson 34* (Lenny Wilmotte), *P.C. Jackson 36-37* (Marie Delattre) and *Sokolos Gotsis, P.C. Jackson 46* (Nikolaos Gotsis) and the essay by Martin Krause. The publication of the proceedings was made possible by generous support from the Sarah C. Jackson Coptic Fund, the Cambridge University Classics Faculty, and Christ's College, Cambridge. Catherine Leys did an enormous job of copy-editing the papers, and her many important corrections while doing so are much appreciated. We should also like to thank Alexander Schubert for his help in preparing the manuscript. We thank the anonymous readers who took the time to read the volume carefully and suggested many useful corrections and additions. The series editor, Ann Hanson, should also be mentioned.

Most of all, however, we would like to thank the presenters and participants at the conference who together provided the spirited academic discussion and congenial atmosphere that showed how valuable and alive Sarah's work continues to be. Sarah would have been proud.

13 April 2007

The Editors

Sarah donated her papers to the Griffith Institute in the University of Oxford, and a fund was established in her memory to support research in the fields to which these materials relate (<http://www.orient.ox.ac.uk/general/grant-shmnd/sec/>). The fund provides travel and research grants to anyone undertaking work on Coptic manuscripts, especially those for which there is documentation in the Jackson bequest, including the viewing, preparation, and recording of material, but excluding conservation.

Donations to the fund should be sent to the Administrator, Oriental Institute, Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LF, UK.

SARAH CLACKSON AND COPTIC Papyrology

ROGER S. BAGNALL

It is customary nowadays for events held in memory of an individual, whether a simple service, an elaborate set of recollections, or an entire conference, to be described as celebrations. It is generally hard to quarrel with the justice of the sentiment underlying this characterization without seeming churlish, because these occasions are opportunities to remember the gifts the person brought to life and work and to express our thankfulness that in some measure, large or small, we as individuals and as communities benefited from these gifts.

At the same time, however, it must be said that celebrations require a cheerfulness not easy to summon on demand in the face of great loss. We seem at times to be in danger of losing the ability to acknowledge grief and to mourn our losses – to absorb properly and in just measure what Roger Angell called “this accompanying trickle of rotten news” that goes along with even the most privileged and fortunate of lives. In the following remarks, I shall try to balance celebration and grief in offering a few words about Sarah Clarkson as a figure in the history of Coptic papyrology. Our loss in the truncation of her passionate and brilliant scholarly career is very great, and it is essential in coming to terms with the magnitude of that loss that we see just how great it is.

As I began thinking about how to sketch the place that I see Sarah occupying in that history of scholarship, I had a moment of simultaneous pain and elation when the last volume of *HAL* 140 [2003] arrived, bearing Terry Wilfong’s elegant evocation (pp. 7–10) of Sarah and her scholarship. Here my work was done for me – he says beautifully many things I had been thinking – but I could hardly just plagiarize it. I shall in fact quote from it here and there. But I shall begin with a bit of fairly quantitative reflection, perhaps a peculiarly personal form of comfort-seeking, one taking its starting-point from something Sarah contributed to the *Checklist of Editions*, the year-by-year list of editions of Coptic papyri and ostraka.

If one leaves out of account the volumes in which there are only a few Coptic documents annexed to a mass of something else, along with pure catalogues of literary manuscripts, the forty years before the publication of Sarah’s volume of papyri from the Hermopolite monastery of Apollo saw exactly four volumes of Coptic papyri, along with seven of ostraka (some of them not very substantial). Of the papyri, one is the slender volume of Florence texts published by Michael Browne, whose death last month was an unhappy loss to my generation of papyrologists, and another is the barely commented booklet of Yale papyri given in preliminary editions by Leslie Mack 1948. In 2000, it had been 13 years since *CPR* XI and a third of a century since *HAL* III, the only volumes of Coptic papyri even remotely comparable to *U. Mon. Teb.* That is a sobering thought.

The previous forty-year period was a bit richer. It was an era that knew Crum, Jernstedt, Kahle, Schiller, Edl and Worpell. Even so, that period saw only five volumes of Coptic papyri and three of mixed papyri and ostraka, plus a few volumes of ostraka alone – about one for each undergraduate

¹ The ostraka are *U. Mon. Copt.*, *U. Mon. Pap.* 8, *U. Mon. C. Bagnall* (pp. 19 texts), *U. Mon. C. PR* XX, *U. Mon. Copt.*, *U. Mon. Copt.* II.

confused with dumping into paper everything one knows. The professionalism and maturity that Sarah's editorial work displayed from an early stage was essential to its character.

Closely and necessarily linked to this historical approach was the integration of scholarly work across the lines of language-based disciplinary boundaries. No one would claim novelty for stating the desirability of such a method; I think it has been a staple of thinking about Hellenistic history and documents, for example, for a couple of generations now, and the more integrative approach to late antiquity prevalent in the last three decades has also favored such attitudes. But it is, as we all know, easier to praise integration than to practice it, and practice has tended to lag advice by about a generation. The ambivalence toward Greek displayed by Crum's *Coptic Papyri* is perhaps emblematic of the historic state of affairs in the field of Coptic studies, even though Crum himself knew the relevant Greek papyri well. That is still worth saying that Sarah embodied to an unusual degree, at an operational level, the conviction that our Greek, Coptic, and eventually Arabic papyri are all the products of a single society, one that we can understand only by seeing it as the complex and multilingual matrix that it was. Her frame of reference, in a collegial sense as well as a documentary one, was broad.

It was also systematizing and pedagogical. This is another area in which time would have allowed her to do much more. Most of us I imagine knew about her plan for a Coptic papyrological project. She was keen on the development of databases, both of metadata and of text, again to help make Coptic papyrology a more normal field, one with the underpinnings that allow both research and teaching. Even after she knew that her chances of a normal life span were no better than even, she kept her focus on the long-term development of her field. Her last project proposal, for the Humboldt-Stiftung, was for a Heriopolis database. The conceptualization of that database was, as always with Sarah's projects, based on a collegial view of the field, one in which one took account of what other people were doing and collaborated wherever possible. Her work on the *Checklist* was only the most fully realized of these cooperative ventures.

In pursuit of understanding, in search of documents, and in the development of collegial projects, Sarah traveled a great deal. Some of her visits to collections were focused on particular bodies of material she was seeking, especially connected with Apa Apollo. But one had the feeling that such aims were really as much justifications for travel grant requests as her actual motives. What she was really in search of was a comprehensive understanding of every possible collection containing Coptic papyri, to see how it had been formed and what its sources were. This museum papyrology, as I would call it, as a subset of the museum archaeology of which Terry speaks, was informed by the wider tendencies in archaeological circles today to try to reconstruct material assemblages scattered through museums and to resurrect material once excavated and buried in museum storerooms rather than being fully published. But her museum papyrology had a distinctive flavor related to the vagaries of the papyrological marketplace. It is, once again, Kable and Crum of whom one is reminded in this aspect of Sarah's work. This, to my mind, is one of the greatest of our losses in her early departing from our midst. We might have had from her a proper reconstruction of the archaeology and history of the finds of Coptic papyri and ostraka—something that would have contributed enormously to our understanding of the social place of Coptic writing and reading and thus to the culture of the late antique society of Egypt. This remains a great desideratum. And even more broadly, I think that all of the pieces in the giant jigsaw puzzle would eventually have been put into their proper place, as far as it is humanly possible to do so. That could have come only at a late stage of this long-term task of seeing everything

that there is to see. If we admire the reconstructive efforts Sarah carried out in her lifetime, we can only imagine what these long-term results might have been like. Last March, when in a storage area on the stairs leading up from the second floor of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo I found three wooden crates full of Coptic ostraka, retained a few months before the 1952 revolution by the Oriental Institute of Chicago and the Metropolitan Museum and untouched since, coming from the excavations at Medinet Habu and Den el-Bahr respectively, it was no longer possible to have that information wind up in the hands I would have wished.

Ferry, like all of us who encountered Sarah in the course of these travels, remembers the side of them that was not purely professional and the joy with which she explored the larger world. That is not at first sight part of my topic in these remarks. But in another way it was, because it was a form of community-building. I mentioned earlier my sense that Coptic documentary papyrology was on the whole a fairly lonely way of life in earlier generations, and perhaps even quite recently. There were few colleagues doing the same sort of work, and although of course all Coptic papyrologists read the publications of the others, it is often hard to find a sense that they cohered in any meaningful way. These scholars give the impression of doing things their own way and in a context formed by something other than the Coptic papyrologists of their day. Arthur Schaller, for example, although he knew the other Coptologists of his period, was far more importantly shaped by Romanists, and his continuity of method was with them, not with others who edited Coptic documents.

This state of affairs has not yet completely passed away. But it is on its way out. Our presence here at this conference in Sarah's memory is a testimony to the creation of a kind of community. This side of professional life is most commonly called "networking" today, and Sarah was a champion networker. But the term is too narrow to do her justice, because it tends to suggest a selfish professionalism aimed at enhancing one's own position. That is not what I am talking about. Sarah was much more community-oriented than that, and I think that community-building is a much more apt description of her activity. She was, I think, fortunate in her timing in this respect, particularly in the sense that many of those present here at this gathering have made their own contributions toward starting to shape Coptic papyrology into a coherent field. For Sarah was only at the beginning of her work in helping to form this field and this community, and we can only imagine what several more decades might have meant for them. But the relative youth of this gathering gives me hope that Sarah's work will be carried on by others and that Coptic papyrology will become the field she sought to make it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SARAH CLACKSON

Books

- 1) *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (= *Documents et Monuments Orientaux*, *Études* 22), E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1996 (with B. Porten, J. J. Färber, G. Vittmann, L. S. H. MacGill, and contributions by S. Hopkins and R. Katzoff).
- 2) *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, Vol. 1: *Texts from the Roman Empire* (Texts in Greek, Greek Coptic and Latin) (= *Coptica Fontanae Manichaeanae*, *Subsidia* II), Brepols, Turnhout, 1998 (with F. Hongr and S. N. C. Lieu, in association with M. Vermes).
- 3) *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (= *Oxford Institute Monographs*), Oxford, 2000.
- 4) *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ptolemaic and Roman*, 5th ed. (= *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, *Supplement* 9), 2001 (with J. L. Coles, R. S. Bagwell, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sasse, J. G. Williams, K. A. Worp).
- 5) *Isi Cha Father Who Hates: Papyrus from the Monastery of Iseidi at Hawa* (= *American Studies in Papyrology* 43), Oxford, Oxford, 2008.

ARTICLES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

- 1) "The Sarah J. Quinn 'A New Kingdom Stela in Carved Stone Showing Amenophis I Wearing the Ibis'." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77 (1993), pp. 369-375.
- 2) "The Michaelides Coptic Manuscript Collection in the Cambridge University Library and British Library," in D. W. Johnson, ed., *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Washington, D.C., August 1992; Rome 1993; Vol. II, pp. 123-138).
- 3) "Jonathan Hyrd 362: Another DEMOTIC TEXT," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 30 (1993), pp. 67-68.
- 4) "The Michaelides Manuscript Collection," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994), pp. 223-226.
- 5) "Four Coptic Papyri from the Paternoster Archive in the British Library," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 32 (1995), pp. 97-116.
- 6) Contribution to E. Gardner, ed., *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 14: *Dakhleh Oasis Project 4*, Oxford Monographs 691, Oxford, 1996.

- 7) "An Unedited Coptic Leaf of Canon in Cambridge University Library (P¹ Camb 1.1. Or 1699 II 11)." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 35 (1998), pp. 135-144.
- 8) "Something Fishy in C¹PR XX." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Ägyptologie* 45 (1999), pp. 94-95.
- 9) "Ostraca and Graffiti Excavated at el-Amarna." in S. El-Amel et al., eds., *Actes du 9^e International Koptologiekongress – München, 20.-26. Juli 1998* = *Spanisch und Kultur und Kunstwissenschaftlichen Ägyptischen Studien*, 25. Wiesbaden 1999, Vol. II, pp. 268-278.
- 10) "The Papyrus Collections of Cambridge." in W. Clarysse, H. Verbeke, eds., *Papyrus Collections Handbook – 9^e du Manuscrits, du Papyrus, du Livre*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, Brussels 2000, pp. 25-30.
- 11) "Reconstructing the Archives of the Monastery of Apollon at Bawit." in J. Andriani, G. Hasnawi, M. Manfrestani, U. Menz, eds., *Attacks VIII Congress of International de Papyrologie, Florence, 23-29 agosto 1999*, Florence 2000, Vol. I, pp. 219-230.
- 12) "Fish and Claws: The Synokates Wall." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 129 (2002), pp. 6-11.
- 13) *Actes*, 484-489, 484-485, 485-486, 486-487, 487-488, 488-489, 489-490, 490-491, 491-492, 492-493, 493-494, 494-495, 495-496, 496-497, 497-498, 498-499, 499-500, 500-501, 501-502, 502-503, 503-504, 504-505, 505-506, 506-507, 507-508, 508-509, 509-510, 510-511, 511-512, 512-513, 513-514, 514-515, 515-516, 516-517, 517-518, 518-519, 519-520, 520-521, 521-522, 522-523, 523-524, 524-525, 525-526, 526-527, 527-528, 528-529, 529-530, 530-531, 531-532, 532-533, 533-534, 534-535, 535-536, 536-537, 537-538, 538-539, 539-540, 540-541, 541-542, 542-543, 543-544, 544-545, 545-546, 546-547, 547-548, 548-549, 549-550, 550-551, 551-552, 552-553, 553-554, 554-555, 555-556, 556-557, 557-558, 558-559, 559-560, 560-561, 561-562, 562-563, 563-564, 564-565, 565-566, 566-567, 567-568, 568-569, 569-570, 570-571, 571-572, 572-573, 573-574, 574-575, 575-576, 576-577, 577-578, 578-579, 579-580, 580-581, 581-582, 582-583, 583-584, 584-585, 585-586, 586-587, 587-588, 588-589, 589-590, 590-591, 591-592, 592-593, 593-594, 594-595, 595-596, 596-597, 597-598, 598-599, 599-600, 600-601, 601-602, 602-603, 603-604, 604-605, 605-606, 606-607, 607-608, 608-609, 609-610, 610-611, 611-612, 612-613, 613-614, 614-615, 615-616, 616-617, 617-618, 618-619, 619-620, 620-621, 621-622, 622-623, 623-624, 624-625, 625-626, 626-627, 627-628, 628-629, 629-630, 630-631, 631-632, 632-633, 633-634, 634-635, 635-636, 636-637, 637-638, 638-639, 639-640, 640-641, 641-642, 642-643, 643-644, 644-645, 645-646, 646-647, 647-648, 648-649, 649-650, 650-651, 651-652, 652-653, 653-654, 654-655, 655-656, 656-657, 657-658, 658-659, 659-660, 660-661, 661-662, 662-663, 663-664, 664-665, 665-666, 666-667, 667-668, 668-669, 669-670, 670-671, 671-672, 672-673, 673-674, 674-675, 675-676, 676-677, 677-678, 678-679, 679-680, 680-681, 681-682, 682-683, 683-684, 684-685, 685-686, 686-687, 687-688, 688-689, 689-690, 690-691, 691-692, 692-693, 693-694, 694-695, 695-696, 696-697, 697-698, 698-699, 699-700, 700-701, 701-702, 702-703, 703-704, 704-705, 705-706, 706-707, 707-708, 708-709, 709-710, 710-711, 711-712, 712-713, 713-714, 714-715, 715-716, 716-717, 717-718, 718-719, 719-720, 720-721, 721-722, 722-723, 723-724, 724-725, 725-726, 726-727, 727-728, 728-729, 729-730, 730-731, 731-732, 732-733, 733-734, 734-735, 735-736, 736-737, 737-738, 738-739, 739-740, 740-741, 741-742, 742-743, 743-744, 744-745, 745-746, 746-747, 747-748, 748-749, 749-750, 750-751, 751-752, 752-753, 753-754, 754-755, 755-756, 756-757, 757-758, 758-759, 759-760, 760-761, 761-762, 762-763, 763-764, 764-765, 765-766, 766-767, 767-768, 768-769, 769-770, 770-771, 771-772, 772-773, 773-774, 774-775, 775-776, 776-777, 777-778, 778-779, 779-780, 780-781, 781-782, 782-783, 783-784, 784-785, 785-786, 786-787, 787-788, 788-789, 789-790, 790-791, 791-792, 792-793, 793-794, 794-795, 795-796, 796-797, 797-798, 798-799, 799-800, 800-801, 801-802, 802-803, 803-804, 804-805, 805-806, 806-807, 807-808, 808-809, 809-810, 810-811, 811-812, 812-813, 813-814, 814-815, 815-816, 816-817, 817-818, 818-819, 819-820, 820-821, 821-822, 822-823, 823-824, 824-825, 825-826, 826-827, 827-828, 828-829, 829-830, 830-831, 831-832, 832-833, 833-834, 834-835, 835-836, 836-837, 837-838, 838-839, 839-840, 840-841, 841-842, 842-843, 843-844, 844-845, 845-846, 846-847, 847-848, 848-849, 849-850, 850-851, 851-852, 852-853, 853-854, 854-855, 855-856, 856-857, 857-858, 858-859, 859-860, 860-861, 861-862, 862-863, 863-864, 864-865, 865-866, 866-867, 867-868, 868-869, 869-870, 870-871, 871-872, 872-873, 873-874, 874-875, 875-876, 876-877, 877-878, 878-879, 879-880, 880-881, 881-882, 882-883, 883-884, 884-885, 885-886, 886-887, 887-888, 888-889, 889-890, 890-891, 891-892, 892-893, 893-894, 894-895, 895-896, 896-897, 897-898, 898-899, 899-900, 900-901, 901-902, 902-903, 903-904, 904-905, 905-906, 906-907, 907-908, 908-909, 909-910, 910-911, 911-912, 912-913, 913-914, 914-915, 915-916, 916-917, 917-918, 918-919, 919-920, 920-921, 921-922, 922-923, 923-924, 924-925, 925-926, 926-927, 927-928, 928-929, 929-930, 930-931, 931-932, 932-933, 933-934, 934-935, 935-936, 936-937, 937-938, 938-939, 939-940, 940-941, 941-942, 942-943, 943-944, 944-945, 945-946, 946-947, 947-948, 948-949, 949-950, 950-951, 951-952, 952-953, 953-954, 954-955, 955-956, 956-957, 957-958, 958-959, 959-960, 960-961, 961-962, 962-963, 963-964, 964-965, 965-966, 966-967, 967-968, 968-969, 969-970, 970-971, 971-972, 972-973, 973-974, 974-975, 975-976, 976-977, 977-978, 978-979, 979-980, 980-981, 981-982, 982-983, 983-984, 984-985, 985-986, 986-987, 987-988, 988-989, 989-990, 990-991, 991-992, 992-993, 993-994, 994-995, 995-996, 996-997, 997-998, 998-999, 999-1000, 1000-1001, 1001-1002, 1002-1003, 1003-1004, 1004-1005, 1005-1006, 1006-1007, 1007-1008, 1008-1009, 1009-1010, 1010-1011, 1011-1012, 1012-1013, 1013-1014, 1014-1015, 1015-1016, 1016-1017, 1017-1018, 1018-1019, 1019-1020, 1020-1021, 1021-1022, 1022-1023, 1023-1024, 1024-1025, 1025-1026, 1026-1027, 1027-1028, 1028-1029, 1029-1030, 1030-1031, 1031-1032, 1032-1033, 1033-1034, 1034-1035, 1035-1036, 1036-1037, 1037-1038, 1038-1039, 1039-1040, 1040-1041, 1041-1042, 1042-1043, 1043-1044, 1044-1045, 1045-1046, 1046-1047, 1047-1048, 1048-1049, 1049-1050, 1050-1051, 1051-1052, 1052-1053, 1053-1054, 1054-1055, 1055-1056, 1056-1057, 1057-1058, 1058-1059, 1059-1060, 1060-1061, 1061-1062, 1062-1063, 1063-1064, 1064-1065, 1065-1066, 1066-1067, 1067-1068, 1068-1069, 1069-1070, 1070-1071, 1071-1072, 1072-1073, 1073-1074, 1074-1075, 1075-1076, 1076-1077, 1077-1078, 1078-1079, 1079-1080, 1080-1081, 1081-1082, 1082-1083, 1083-1084, 1084-1085, 1085-1086, 1086-1087, 1087-1088, 1088-1089, 1089-1090, 1090-1091, 1091-1092, 1092-1093, 1093-1094, 1094-1095, 1095-1096, 1096-1097, 1097-1098, 1098-1099, 1099-1100, 1100-1101, 1101-1102, 1102-1103, 1103-1104, 1104-1105, 1105-1106, 1106-1107, 1107-1108, 1108-1109, 1109-1110, 1110-1111, 1111-1112, 1112-1113, 1113-1114, 1114-1115, 1115-1116, 1116-1117, 1117-1118, 1118-1119, 1119-1120, 1120-1121, 1121-1122, 1122-1123, 1123-1124, 1124-1125, 1125-1126, 1126-1127, 1127-1128, 1128-1129, 1129-1130, 1130-1131, 1131-1132, 1132-1133, 1133-1134, 1134-1135, 1135-1136, 1136-1137, 1137-1138, 1138-1139, 1139-1140, 1140-1141, 1141-1142, 1142-1143, 1143-1144, 1144-1145, 1145-1146, 1146-1147, 1147-1148, 1148-1149, 1149-1150, 1150-1151, 1151-1152, 1152-1153, 1153-1154, 1154-1155, 1155-1156, 1156-1157, 1157-1158, 1158-1159, 1159-1160, 1160-1161, 1161-1162, 1162-1163, 1163-1164, 1164-1165, 1165-1166, 1166-1167, 1167-1168, 1168-1169, 1169-1170, 1170-1171, 1171-1172, 1172-1173, 1173-1174, 1174-1175, 1175-1176, 1176-1177, 1177-1178, 1178-1179, 1179-1180, 1180-1181, 1181-1182, 1182-1183, 1183-1184, 1184-1185, 1185-1186, 1186-1187, 1187-1188, 1188-1189, 1189-1190, 1190-1191, 1191-1192, 1192-1193, 1193-1194, 1194-1195, 1195-1196, 1196-1197, 1197-1198, 1198-1199, 1199-1200, 1200-1201, 1201-1202, 1202-1203, 1203-1204, 1204-1205, 1205-1206, 1206-1207, 1207-1208, 1208-1209, 1209-1210, 1210-1211, 1211-1212, 1212-1213, 1213-1214, 1214-1215, 1215-1216, 1216-1217, 1217-1218, 1218-1219, 1219-1220, 1220-1221, 1221-1222, 1222-1223, 1223-1224, 1224-1225, 1225-1226, 1226-1227, 1227-1228, 1228-1229, 1229-1230, 1230-1231, 1231-1232, 1232-1233, 1233-1234, 1234-1235, 1235-1236, 1236-1237, 1237-1238, 1238-1239, 1239-1240, 1240-1241, 1241-1242, 1242-1243, 1243-1244, 1244-1245, 1245-1246, 1246-1247, 1247-1248, 1248-1249, 1249-1250, 1250-1251, 1251-1252, 1252-1253, 1253-1254, 1254-1255, 1255-1256, 1256-1257, 1257-1258, 1258-1259, 1259-1260, 1260-1261, 1261-1262, 1262-1263, 1263-1264, 1264-1265, 1265-1266, 1266-1267, 1267-1268, 1268-1269, 1269-1270, 1270-1271, 1271-1272, 1272-1273, 1273-1274, 1274-1275, 1275-1276, 1276-1277, 1277-1278, 1278-1279, 1279-1280, 1280-1281, 1281-1282, 1282-1283, 1283-1284, 1284-1285, 1285-1286, 1286-1287, 1287-1288, 1288-1289, 1289-1290, 1290-1291, 1291-1292, 1292-1293, 1293-1294, 1294-1295, 1295-1296, 1296-1297, 1297-1298, 1298-1299, 1299-1300, 1300-1301, 1301-1302, 1302-1303, 1303-1304, 1304-1305, 1305-1306, 1306-1307, 1307-1308, 1308-1309, 1309-1310, 1310-1311, 1311-1312, 1312-1313, 1313-1314, 1314-1315, 1315-1316, 1316-1317, 1317-1318, 1318-1319, 1319-1320, 1320-1321, 1321-1322, 1322-1323, 1323-1324, 1324-1325, 1325-1326, 1326-1327, 1327-1328, 1328-1329, 1329-1330, 1330-1331, 1331-1332, 1332-1333, 1333-1334, 1334-1335, 1335-1336, 1336-1337, 1337-1338, 1338-1339, 1339-1340, 1340-1341, 1341-1342, 1342-1343, 1343-1344, 1344-1345, 1345-1346, 1346-1347, 1347-1348, 1348-1349, 1349-1350, 1350-1351, 1351-1352, 1352-1353, 1353-1354, 1354-1355, 1355-1356, 1356-1357, 1357-1358, 1358-1359, 1359-1360, 1360-1361, 1361-1362, 1362-1363, 1363-1364, 1364-1365, 1365-1366, 1366-1367, 1367-1368, 1368-1369, 1369-1370, 1370-1371, 1371-1372, 1372-1373, 1373-1374, 1374-1375, 1375-1376, 1376-1377, 1377-1378, 1378-1379, 1379-1380, 1380-1381, 1381-1382, 1382-1383, 1383-1384, 1384-1385, 1385-1386, 1386-1387, 1387-1388, 1388-1389, 1389-1390, 1390-1391, 1391-1392, 1392-1393, 1393-1394, 1394-1395, 1395-1396, 1396-1397, 1397-1398, 1398-1399, 1399-1400, 1400-1401, 1401-1402, 1402-1403, 1403-1404, 1404-1405, 1405-1406, 1406-1407, 1407-1408, 1408-1409, 1409-1410, 1410-1411, 1411-1412, 1412-1413, 1413-1414, 1414-1415, 1415-1416, 1416-1417, 1417-1418, 1418-1419, 1419-1420, 1420-1421, 1421-1422, 1422-1423, 1423-1424, 1424-1425, 1425-1426, 1426-1427, 1427-1428, 1428-1429, 1429-1430, 1430-1431, 1431-1432, 1432-1433, 1433-1434, 1434-1435, 1435-1436, 1436-1437, 1437-1438, 1438-1439, 1439-1440, 1440-1441, 1441-1442, 1442-1443, 1443-1444, 1444-1445, 1445-1446, 1446-1447, 1447-1448, 1448-1449, 1449-1450, 1450-1451, 1451-1452, 1452-1453, 1453-1454, 1454-1455, 1455-1456, 1456-1457, 1457-1458, 1458-1459, 1459-1460, 1460-1461, 1461-1462, 1462-1463, 1463-1464, 1464-1465, 1465-1466, 1466-1467, 1467-1468, 1468-1469, 1469-1470, 1470-1471, 1471-1472, 1472-1473, 1473-1474, 1474-1475, 1475-1476, 1476-1477, 1477-1478, 1478-1479, 1479-1480, 1480-1481, 1481-1482, 1482-1483, 1483-1484, 1484-1485, 1485-1486, 1486-1487, 1487-1488, 1488-1489, 1489-1490, 1490-1491, 1491-1492, 1492-1493, 1493-1494, 1494-1495, 1495-1496, 1496-1497, 1497-1498, 1498-1499, 1499-1500, 1500-1501, 1501-1502, 1502-1503, 1503-1504, 1504-1505, 1505-1506, 1506-1507, 1507-1508, 1508-1509, 1509-1510, 1510-1511, 1511-1512, 1512-1513, 1513-1514, 1514-1515, 1515-1516, 1516-1517, 1517-1518, 1518-1519, 1519-1520, 1520-1521, 1521-1522, 1522-1523, 1523-1524, 1524-1525, 1525-1526, 1526-1527, 1527-1528, 1528-1529, 1529-1530, 1530-1531, 1531-1532, 1532-1533, 1533-1534, 1534-1535, 1535-1536, 1536-1537, 1537-1538, 1538-1539, 1539-1540, 1540-1541, 1541-1542, 1542-1543, 1543-1544, 1544-1545, 1545-1546, 1546-1547, 1547-1548, 1548-1549, 1549-1550, 1550-1551, 1551-1552, 1552-1553, 1553-1554, 1554-1555, 1555-1556, 1556-1557, 1557-1558, 1558-1559, 1559-1560, 1560-1561, 1561-1562, 1562-1563, 1563-1564, 1564-1565, 1565-1566, 1566-1567, 1567-1568, 1568-1569, 1569-1570, 1570-1571, 1571-1572, 1572-1573, 1573-1574, 1574-1575, 1575-1576, 1576-1577, 1577-1578, 1578-1579, 1579-1580, 1580-1581, 1581-1582, 1582-1583, 1583-1584, 1584-1585, 1585-1586, 1586-1587, 1587-1588, 1588-1589, 1589-1590, 1590-1591, 1591-1592, 1592-1593, 1593-1594, 1594-1595, 1595-1596, 1596-1597, 1597-1598, 1598-1599, 1599-1600, 1600-1601, 1601-1602, 1602-1603, 1603-1604, 1604-1605, 1605-1606, 1606-1607, 1607-1608, 1608-1609, 1609-1610, 1610-1611, 1611-1612, 1612-1613, 1613-1614, 1614-1615, 1615-1616, 1616-1617, 1617-1618, 1618-1619, 1619-1620, 1620-1621, 1621-1622, 1622-1623, 1623-1624, 1624-1625, 1625-1626, 1626-1627, 1627-1628, 1628-1629, 1629-1630, 1630-1631, 1631-1632, 1632-1633, 1633-1634, 1634-1635, 1635-1636, 1636-1637, 1637-1638, 1638-1639, 1639-1640, 1640-1641, 1641-1642, 1642

International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August-2 September 2000 (= Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 133), Leuven-Paris-Dodley MA 2004, pp. 477-490.

19) "Monasteries of Middle Egypt," in R. S. Bagdadi and D. W. Rathbone, eds., *Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians. An Archaeological and Historical Guide* (London/Los Angeles: The British Museum Press and The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2004), pp. 174-187.

20) "Greek and Coptic Medical Prescriptions from the Michaelides Collection in Cambridge University Library," in H. Harrage and R. Pomauch, eds., *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak (P Horak)* (*Papyrologica Florentina* 34), Florence 2004, Vol. 1, pp. 73-83.

21) "Coptic and Greek Ostraca from Kom el-Sana," in J. Tiers, *Late Roman Pottery at Amarna and Related Studies I. Egypt Exploration Society. Excavation Memoirs* 72 (London 2005), pp. 245-262.

22) Translation and Commentary of Catalogue Numbers 117, 118 and 119 in G. J. Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (= Annales 1150)* (Cambridge 2005), pp. 174-177.

23) "Archimandrites and anchismon: a Preliminary Survey of Taxation at Hawt," in H. Palme, ed., *Akten des 24. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses Wien 22-28 Juli 2004 (= Papyrologica Aethiopica 1)* (Vienna 2007), pp. 103-110.

24) "Coptic Oxyrhynchus," in A. K. Bowman, R. A. Coles, S. Gonn, D. Oxbank and P. J. Parsons, eds., *Oxyrhynchus: The City and Its Texts (= Egypt Exploration Society. Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 93)

REVIEWS

1) K. Schussler, ed., *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte* (Ed. 1. Das vollständige Alte und Neue Testament) (Wiesbaden, 1995), *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 35 (1998), pp. 224-234.

2) R. Oubere, *Reading, Teaching, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996), *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 86 (2000), pp. 22-29.

3) C. Cammyer, *Coptic Egypt. The Christians of the Nile* (New York, 2001), *Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (2001), p. 43.

4) J. Clédat, *Les Monastères et les nécropoles de Bahr el Jebel* (1999), *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 34 (2002), pp. 189-204.

5) P. Brudel et al., *Explorations aux Oxyrhynchos et El-Bachna lors des campagnes 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989 et 1990 (= I-K 3184, tome III)*, Leuven, 1999, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 60, 1-2 (2003), pp. 142-144.

NOTE ON EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

Abbreviations for Greek and Coptic documentary texts edited in monographic volumes are given according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Ptolemaic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th ed., eds. J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Jackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Smit, L. G. Wilton and K. A. Worp (*JHS* Suppl. 9, 2004). An updated electronic version of the Checklist may be consulted online at: <http://scripthome.ohio-state.edu/papyrus/texts/elst.html>.

For Arabic documentary texts, abbreviations have been given according to the *Checklist of Arabic Papyri*, eds. J. F. Oates, P. M. Stepputat and A. Kaphow (*JHS* 42 (2005) 127-166). An online, updated version of the Arabic Checklist can be consulted at: www.orientalux.org/asp/aspchecklist.html.

Journals are abbreviated according to the 'Abréviations des périodiques et collectifs' published by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale and which can be consulted on the internet at: www.ifao.egnet.net.

Texts in this volume are presented according to the usual papyrological practices. The following signs have their usual senses:

()	Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[]	Lacunae in the papyrus
.	Letters omitted by the scribe
⋮	Letters written, then deleted, by the scribe
! ?	Letters erroneously written by the scribe
u l	Letters, the reading of which is uncertain or would be uncertain outside of the context
. . . .	Letters of which part or all remain but which have not been read
[. . . 5]	Approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna and not restored
α βγ	Letters inserted by the scribe above the line

TABLE OF OSTRACA, PAPYRI, AND ESSAYS

P. C. OSTRACA 1-17	1
<i>Ostraca de Baniya conservées à l'Institut d'égyptologie de Heidelberg</i> Anne Boud'hors (CNRS, Paris) and Sarah C. Jackson	
P. C. OSTRACA 18-33	23
<i>Les ostraca élimulien. Quelques aspects du transport du ble dans l'Égypte copte</i> Alain Delattre (Université Libre de Bruxelles)	
P. C. OSTRACA 34	49
<i>A New Text from Irbabu in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology</i> Terry C. Willing (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor)	
P. C. OSTRACA 35	52
<i>Three Coptic Ostraca from the Bezaudat Collection</i> James Clarkson (University of Cambridge) and Sarah C. Jackson	
P. C. OSTRACA 36-43	61
<i>Le dossier des vases de terre grecs du monastère d'Aps Apollon à Hama</i> Alain Delattre and Nikolaos Troni (University College, London)	
P. C. OSTRACA 44	72
<i>Ein griechisches Ostrakon aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. aus dem Museum von Hama</i> Hans Förster (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)	
P. C. OSTRACA 45-46	102
<i>A Mid-Egyptian Coptic Text: A Fragment of a Papyrus Roll from the Monastery of Aps Apollon at Hama</i> Petra M. Nijssen (CNRS, Paris) University of Leiden) and Sarah C. Jackson	
Appendix	
Nikolaos Troni	
P. C. OSTRACA 47	122
<i>A Fragment of a Coptic Document from the Monastery of Aps Apollon</i> Sofia Torallas Tovar (USC, Madrid)	
P. C. OSTRACA 48-50	124
<i>Three Greek Monastic Texts Related to the Monastery of Aps Apollon</i> Sofia Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp (University of Leiden)	

ESSAYS

- Property (Ownership) and Tax Payment in Fourth-Century Monasteries* 129
 Malcolm Choat (Macquarie University)
- Conversion religieuse dans un quartier de Banât: Recherches SB III 6042* 141
 Jean-Luc Fournet (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)
- Die anaphorische Interzession für die Verstorbenen nach den frühen Zeugnissen koptischer Liturgie* 148
 Jutta Henner (Österreichische Bibelgesellschaft Universität Wien)
- Die koptischen Klosterkirchen von Kloster elia el-Asiut (Kloster von Elia) aus äthiopischer Zeit* 159
 Martin Krause (Universität Münster)
- The Monastic Rule of Shenoute* 170
 Bentley Layton (Yale University)
- The Church, Clergy, Monks, and Clerics in the Papyri* 178
 Tomasz Markiewicz (University of Warsaw)
- The Cultivation of Monastic Estates in Late Antiquity and Early Islamic Egypt: Some Evidence from Coptic Land Taxation and Related Documents* 205
 Tomo Sebastian Richter (University of Leipzig)
- Das Archiv des Archimandriten Apa Georgios: Texte aus P1ay Copt und P1 und Copt* 216
 Georg Schmelz (Universität Heidelberg)
- P Oxy. LXIII 4397: The Monastery Comes First or Pious Reasons Before Earthly Securities?* 225
 Jakub Urbaniak (University of Warsaw)
- Monks and Monasteria (Dwellings: P Oxyb. 32-34, P KR I 105, and B) MS.Gr. 6201-6206 Revisited* 236
 Ewa Wipszycka (University of Warsaw)

LIST OF PLATES

Plate I

- 1 *SBKopt.* 1.226 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 983
- 2 *SBKopt.* 1.234 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 988

Plate II

- 3 *SBKopt.* 1.233 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 984
- 4 *SBKopt.* 1.230 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 987

Plate III

- 5 *SBKopt.* 1.224 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 986
- 6 *SBKopt.* 1.228 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 980

Plate IV

- 7 *SBKopt.* 1.229 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 989
- 8 *SBKopt.* 1.231 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 986

Plate V

- 9 *SBKopt.* 1.232 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 981
- 10 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 985

Plate VI

- 11 *SBKopt.* 1.3563 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 984
- 12 *SBKopt.* 1.3564 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 982

Plate VII

- 13 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 988
- 14 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 981

Plate VIII

- 15 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 980
- 16 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 983

Plate IX

- 17 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 982

Plate X

- 18 O. Brat Mus. inv. GR 1989/6-29 1, British Museum, photo Charles Lide, Ltd.
- 19 O. Herod. inv. 14705, Ägyptisches Museum u. Papyrussammlung SÄK, photo Margarete Bölsing

Plate XI

- 25 *SBKopt* 1151 Kelsey Mus. inv. 25009, Courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
26 O Berol. inv. 14706, Ägyptisches Museum u. Papyrussammlung SMU, photo Margarete Hölsing

Plate XII

- 29 *SBKopt* 1167 Kelsey Mus. inv. 25028, Courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
31 O Berol. inv. 14713, Ägyptisches Museum u. Papyrussammlung SMU, photo Margarete Hölsing

Plate XIII

- 32 *SBKopt* 1185 Kelsey Mus. inv. 25041, Courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
33 O. B. Ac.

Plate XIV

- 34 Kelsey Mus. inv. 25124, Courtesy of Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

Plate XV

- 36 P. Heid. inv. K. 308 verso
37 P. C. Y. B. R. inv. 1841 verso
38 P. Brux. inv. F. 9483 verso

Plate XVI

- 39 P. C. Y. B. R. inv. 1843 verso
40 P. Heid. inv. K. 308 recto

Plate XVII

- 41 P. C. Y. B. R. inv. 1841 recto
42 P. Brux. inv. F. 9483 recto
43 P. C. Y. B. R. inv. 1843 recto

Plate XVIII

- 44 P. Vindob. K. 4725 recto
44 P. Vindob. K. 4725 verso

Plate XIX

- 45 P. Camb. U. L. Michael. 807 recto

Plate XX

- 46 P. Camb. U. L. Michael. 807 verso

Plate XXI

- 47 P. Monts. Roca inv. 549 recto
47 P. Monts. Roca inv. 549 verso

Plate XXII

- 48 P. Monts. Roca inv. 516 recto
48 P. Monts. Roca inv. 516 verso

Plate XXIII

- 49 P. Monts. Roca inv. 619
50 P. Monts. Roca inv. 713

Plate XXIV

- 50 P. Monts. Roca inv. 713, seat (1)
50 P. Monts. Roca inv. 713, seat (2)

OSTRACA, PAPYRI, AND ESSAYS

O. CLACKSON 1-17

OSTRACA DE BAOUT CONSERVES A L'INSTITUT D'ÉGYPTOLOGIE D'HEIDELBERG

ANNE BOUD'HORS ET SARAH CLACKSON

Un apport remarquable de Sarah Clarkson à nos disciplines aura été d'avoir ouvert la voie à la reconstruction des archives du monastère d'Apollo à Baout, en Moyenne-Egypte. L'œuvre de pionnier qu'elle a menée dans ce domaine se trouve désormais à notre disposition et nous donne large matière à réflexion, alors même que les recherches se trouvent stimulées par la reprise des fouilles archéologiques sur le site, après presque un siècle d'interruption. Ainsi le chantier qu'elle avait en quelque sorte ouvert ne risque-t-il pas de se refermer avec sa disparition.

Le sort de la documentation papyrologique de Baout ressemble un peu à celui de la bibliothèque du monastère blanc. L'histoire de la découverte du site et les circonstances de fouilles ont fait que, si une grande partie des pièces sont conservées au Louvre, beaucoup d'autres se trouvent dans des collections variées. Il y a une quinzaine d'années, nous n'avions pas idée de l'ampleur de cette dispersion. Nous connaissons tel encore, fort mal, puisque le travail est resté inédit (la thèse de Martin Krause, faite à partir des papyrus de la British Library, et certaines éditions ponctuelles). L'hypothèse de travail de Sarah, selon laquelle il existait des formulaires caractéristiques du monastère de Baout, s'est révélée extraordinairement féconde, et on en voit le beau résultat dans son ouvrage *P. Mout. Ipphu*, ainsi que dans ses communications au congrès de papyrologie de Florence en 1998, au congrès d'études coptes à Leiden en 2000, aux journées d'études coptes de Lille en 2001.¹

Pour ce qui est des ostraca, c'est évidemment le fonds du Louvre qui a fourni le point de départ, puisqu'on était assuré de savoir, grâce aux carnets de l'archéologue Jean Clédat,² quelles pièces avaient été trouvées au cours des fouilles, alors que le monastère d'Apollo est rarement nommé dans les textes eux-mêmes. Le repérage des formulaires caractéristiques permettant alors d'attribuer à Baout des pièces parallèles, déjà publiées sans mention de provenance, ou inédites, conservées dans plusieurs collections publiques et privées.

Parmi ces collections, celle de l'Institut d'égyptologie d'Heidelberg méritait une attention particulière. En effet Friedrich Hilabel avait déjà publié une dizaine d'ostraca concernant des transports de blé, reproduisant un formulaire aujourd'hui bien connu, qui commence par l'expression *qmt* «OK, l'aller chercher, commander, réclamer, etc.». La provenance de ces pièces était inconnue. Hilabel signalant que l'aspect de la poterie lui rappelait la céramique trouvée lors des fouilles de Qurānā. De fait, dans le registre d'inventaire, un des ostraca (*O. Clackson 2*, Heid. inv. 998) porte la mention

¹ La synthèse la plus récente sur le site se trouve dans Dylatre 2007. Ici aussi, pour l'histoire des fouilles, Benizeth 1991.

² Krause 1958.

³ Clackson 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004.

⁴ Voir la publication tardive de la dernière campagne de Clédat avec, en particulier, l'édition des ostraca, dans Clédat 1-199. La référence aux ostraca sera faite par le sigle *O. Baout*.

⁵ Hilabel 1932.

"Karāra." Dans le catalogue de la collection, aucune autre précision n'est donnée que "l'Égyptien".¹ Il est possible que tout le lot d'ostraca (inv. n° 970-989) ait été acheté à un marchand, éventuellement pendant les fouilles de Karāra. La provenance de Baout *int* semble associée par le formulaire pour Ostraca 1-16 (Heid. inv. nos. 979-981, 983-984, 986-990 et 998; 174 *in toto* 17) (Heid. inv. 997), également publiée, et est trop fragmentaire pour pouvoir formuler une hypothèse. Quant aux deux ostraca inv. 982 et 985, ils ne font pas partie des documents de Baout. Leur contenu et leur aspect permettent de les rattacher sans aucun doute aux "archives des bûchers d'Aphrodite"² et ils restent l'objet d'une autre publication.

Les textes à formulaire (pp. 10-11) importants pour l'étude de l'économie du monastère, présentent un certain nombre de difficultés non résolues et avaient été publiés sans photo. Sarah travailla sur ces ostraca en février 2002, lors d'un séjour d'étude qu'elle fit à Heidelberg dans le cadre d'une bourse du Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst. Au cours de ce séjour, elle identifia d'autres ostraca du même lot, inédits, et conçut le projet d'une nouvelle publication de l'ensemble de ces pièces. Elle l'a ainsi certainement terminée dans les meilleures conditions grâce à la bourse de la fondation Humboldt qu'elle avait obtenue pour l'année 2003-2004, pour travailler à l'Institut de Papyrologie d'Heidelberg.

Après m'en avoir que copie de son travail qu'en mai 2003, alors que je terminais le manuscrit de la publication des ostraca de Baout conservés à l'Hao de Louvre, dont quelques-uns sont très proches de ceux d'Heidelberg. Nous sommes pas le temps de redresser certaines difficultés d'interprétation communes aux textes de ces deux collections, ni de reporter de notre projet d'étude comparative systématique de tous les ostraca de type dit "inv. 100". Sa publication des ostraca d'Heidelberg étant néanmoins dans un état assez bien avancé, en particulier l'édition et la traduction des textes, et j'ai essayé de la respecter telle qu'elle était, en répondant si possible, aux questions que Sarah m'y posait et en faisant les mises à jour nécessaires à l'utilisation de nos deux langues respectives (anglais et français) permet, je l'espère, de lire cette étude comme une vraie collaboration.

Il me reste à remercier tous ceux qui d'abord ont aidé à mener à terme cette publication. James C. Jackson m'a transmis tous les documents dont je pouvais avoir besoin. En février 2005, je suis allée travailler deux mois à l'Institut d'égyptologie d'Heidelberg, en compagnie Dina Lallings, conservateur de la collection, et tout fait pour me faciliter l'examen des originaux. Enfin, sur les conseils du professeur John Haines et grâce à la générosité de la fondation Sarah C. Jackson, j'ai pu effectuer un court séjour à Oxford en mars 2006, et consulter les archives de Sarah déposées au Trinity Institute.³ J'ai bénéficié des apports importants de la thèse d'Adam Helander, quand elle était en cours de publication, ainsi que de discussions avec John (Jean-) de Foumier par ses interventions et ses suggestions lors du colloque, m'a permis de mettre au clair un certain nombre de points délicats.

¹ C. C. Leclercq 1986.

² Le mot *baout* est attesté quatre fois dans les ostraca que porte la collection inv. 981-100 (pp. 10-11). Quant au n° inv. 992, c'est probablement un dérivé, comme l'a noté récemment Sarah C. Leclercq d'après une note prescrite (n° 992) au datif d'un mot inconnu, les précédents étant *baout* ou *baout* (n° 992) au datif après la publication des ostraca dont nous publions ici l'état actuel, mais en attendant d'être corrigés.

³ Cf. Jackson et Worp 1996.

⁴ Que John Haines soit resté en contact avec nous nous a permis d'avoir à un moment que l'équipe des archives du Trinity Institute, Melanina Lallings, Jeremy et Alex H. 2006. Merci également à Max C. Leclercq qui l'a pu travailler dans d'excellentes conditions.

1. \mathbb{R}^n is a vector space over \mathbb{R} .

Les 44 ostraca coptes des fouilles de Cléopâtre publiées dans le *Mit. Ägypt. Mus.* 131 cloué et probablement Musée égyptien du Caire sont désignées par *O.Hamit* 1-44. Les n° ostraca coptes des fouilles de J. Maspero (cf. 361) par *O.Hamit* 101-107. Les ostraca d'Heidelberg portent déjà, outre leur numéro d'inventaire, un numéro dans le *Ägypt. Mus.* Sarah avait prévu de leur surajouter un n° "*O.Hamit*." Les éditeurs du volume ont préféré adopter le sigle *O.Hamit* 1-16. Dix de ces textes, dont un encore inédit, suivent le formulaire bien connu qui commence par *ⲁⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓ ⲕⲉ*, six autres se rattachent à des dossiers également déjà connus.

² A [10] AVALIADOS PROHIBI MATEMA E CIÊNCIAS EXATAS DO DEPARTAMENTO DE QUÍMICA FÍSICA.

L'ensemble du formulaire a fait l'objet de discussions sur lesquelles je ne reviens pas¹¹. Les observations problématiques sont signalées par l'astérisque.

- 1 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 2 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 3 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 4 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 5 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 6 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 7 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*
- 8 *capitulum* *capitulum* *capitulum*

Il s'agit de "faire rentrer" une certaine quantité de sacs de blé (31 et de sacs d'arakis (2), dans lesquels il y a une certaine quantité d'arabes (qui font parfois l'objet d'une précession) (3 ou 4), provenant d'un domaine agricole (5 ou 6) par les soins d'un transporteur (8). Sont ou resumé en grec des quantités de main barideses, constituée d'abréviations (6). Par le document est date (7) et se termine sur le numéroté de la raison (5). Dans les parties 3 et 6, les précession concernant les arabes suivies et d'une astérisque semblent facultatives et n'ont pas été définitivement élucidées. 4) Dans quelques attestations des textes d'Hendikhar, les (1) *Haraff* (1) ont apporté plusieurs occurrences supplémentaires de ces abréviations et ont permis d'assurer au moins leur lecture (10) et (10) (1) et de proposer des interprétations. 1) Puisque ces indications ne sont pas systématiquement présentes, elles sont probablement d'ordre secondaire. Le caractère facultatif est confirmé par le fait que (10) est parfois ajouté au-dessus de la ligne (1) *Haraff* (1) 3 et (1) *Haraff* 2, 1, 5 et 6, et ne semble plus toujours repris, non plus que (10), dans le résumé en grec.

7. un sens réellement clair. Au moment de la publication des *11 Bruchst.* 101, Dieter Hagedorn n'avait

¹¹ L. J. F. Gould, *ibid.*, 2674.

§ 1-1301.1 (b)(1), 11 Fed. Reg. 22,226-246 (1946) (Comm. 117-2).

[illegible]

fait une proposition de lecture très séduisante: ἀθηναίων ἐπιτάγῳ. La mesure "athénienne," ou "du temple d'Athéna" semble bien attestée en Moyenne-Égypte.¹ Cette hypothèse avait contre elle le fait qu'on a systématiquement un ε et non un η. Mais le papyrus de Bâout P. *Chabou* 47, publié ici même par S. Torallas, donne l'expression suivante: ἄταβη ἀταβῶν ἡμεῶν, "de la mesure d'Athènes," qui désigne certainement la même chose. J'adapte donc cette interprétation, et je propose de rétablir cette lecture dans tous les P. *Chabou* 111 qui contiennent l'abréviation.

Pour τοῦ, la lecture est désormais sûre. Habelt lisait τοῦ, et proposait τοῦτο ἀρχαῖον, mais son interprétation, possible pour les deux textes dans lesquels il la trouvait, ne tient pas dans les P. *Chabou* 111. Ici encore deux propositions ont été faites: τοῦτο ἀρχαῖον, "du diton" (ou l'expression aurait désigné une arabe définie par l'autorité juridique du monastère), ou τοῦτο δέκτρονον, "selon la norme," suggestion de Klaas Worp à laquelle je me suis rangée pour les P. *Chabou* 111. Une lecture τοῦτο δέκτρονον τοῦτο est suggérée par Jean-Luc Tournet: arabes réservées au pècement de l'impôt, ou définies par le bureau fiscal.² On pourrait encore penser à τοῦτο ἀρχαῖον ἐπιτάγῳ, "de la mesure officielle," indication qui est parfois associée à la mesure athénienne.³ J'ayoue ne pas pouvoir trancher.

Nous aurons donc dans la documentation des ostraca de Bâout des précisions contenant plusieurs sortes d'arabes:

l'arabe, sans autre précision standard;⁴

l'arabe "selon la norme" (la même que la précédente)⁵ Ou "de l'impôt"⁶ Ou "officielle"⁷

l'arabe "athénienne";

la "petite" arabe (si la restitution ἀρχαῖον ἐπιτάγῳ, littéralement "de la petite mesure" de Habelt dans P. *Chabou* 4 est correcte).

La différence entre toutes ces arabes est difficile à établir précisément. Et le rapport entre le nombre de sacs ἀρχαῖον ἐπιτάγῳ et le nombre d'arabes n'est pas régulier.⁸ Je ne vis donc pas pour le moment à quoi tendent ces distinctions.

3. AUTRES FORMULAIRES

Sarah propose la reédition de deux ostraca publiés par Brunsch.⁹ (P. *Chabou* 11 et 12), ainsi que la publication de six textes inédits. L'ami donne la proxémie du formulaire de ces ostraca de Brunsch avec ceux de plusieurs P. *Chabou* 111, il faut en effet peu de doute qu'il faut les rattacher à ce dossier (même si Sarah ne le dit pas explicitement pour chacun). Six de ces textes ont pour particularité d'être entièrement constitués d'abréviations de mots grecs. Ils reprennent une partie des indications données

¹ Cf. Chassignet-Lafont et Lissier (2000) 16. Habelt a écrit que les attestations égyptes sont plutôt en faveur d'une interprétation "mesure d'Athéna" que "mesure athénienne." La discussion serait possible à reprendre.

² Cf. S. Torallas (1985) 233.

³ Cf. P. *Chabou* 111 8-9.

⁴ Habelt (1980) 2-22.

par les ostraca de type *qmt*-*trux*, mais dans un ordre différent et de façon systématiquement abrégée.

TEXTES COMMENÇANT PAR LE NUMÉRO DE LIVRAISON: *Ostrakon* 11-15¹ cf. *O. Barott* 40 (17, 191?), 20, 21 (avec peut-être le même personnage que dans *Ostrakon* 11 et 12), 50(?) Les textes concernent probablement du blé mais la présence des mots "artabe" et "ble" semble facultative (θελλάιναι suffit). En revanche apparaît la mention des "chameleaux" (charge d'un chameau) qui montre que ce genre de texte concerne plus directement le travail du chamelier. On remarquera que les quantités indiquées semblent généralement plus petites que dans les ostraca *qmt*-*trux*. Il y avait probablement plusieurs chameliers par esqé². L'absence de la date semble être le cas le plus fréquent (sauf dans *Ostrakon* 15). L'ostrakon P. 2025 du Naphtak Museum de Prague³ est de même sorte (à l'exception du numéro de livraison, ses données sont exactement les mêmes que dans *Ostrakon* 14) et provient donc très vraisemblablement de Baouit⁴. Il faut noter que son éditeur le date du 6^e siècle (voir plus loin les questions de datation).

TRANSPORT EN VIN: *Ostrakon* 16 et *O. Barott* 40 (36-40 et *O. Bandt* 42-47. Tous ces ostraca sont des transports de vin. La composition du toponyme est assez caractéristique de la documentation de Baouit (cf. *O. Barott* 40 et P. Brux inv. I 5153-5154, étudié dans P. Brux Baouit, même si, sous sa forme abrégée, il n'est pas tout à fait explicite).

4.1 VIRE ETROS ET RUMTES (XXI)

Les textes de type *qmt*-*trux* montrent un enchevêtrement de formules en copte et en grec. Il apparaît que les parties en grec sont en fait des segments fixés et la plupart du temps abrégés, utilisés à des fins administratives. Le même phénomène se retrouve dans les nombreux ordres de paiement du monastère publiés dans P. Brux Baouit. Dans l'édition des textes, j'utilise les caractères coptes pour transcrire tout ce qui se trouve dans une phrase de syntaxe copte, réservant la police grecque pour les segments entièrement constitués d'abréviations grecques. Dans l'apparat, seuls les caractères coptes sont utilisés, pour illustrer le fait que le scribe est le même.

5. QUÉLQUES GÉNÉRALITÉS SUR L'INTÉRIEUR DE COPTENTES

NUMÉRIQUE: en faisant un calcul grossier, on arrive à plus de 230 ostraca attribuables au monastère de Baouit, presque tous relatifs à des transports de marchandises, dont les plus importantes sont le blé et le vin.

DATAIRES: les ostraca de type *qmt*-*trux* peuvent être datés du 8^e siècle, grâce à certaines écritures très proches de celles des ordres de paiement sur papyrus qui sont souvent écrits au dos de documents

¹ Cf. Barott 1993, 58-152M9.

² L'ostrakon P. 2014-201¹ et P. 2019 du même musée sont de type *qmt*-*trux* (cf. Oester 2003).

en arabe (cf. *P. Berol. Graec. 10*). Grâce à la mention du jour de la semaine sur certains textes, K. Worp a pu proposer des dates précises dont nous retenons que c'est la première moitié du 8^e siècle qui semble convenir le mieux.¹ On remarque que c'est le plus souvent en 13ôth que se font les transports de vin, c'est-à-dire après les vendanges, en Pount ou Epiphi que se font les transports de céréales (après la moisson). On a souvent attribué à des séries d'ostraca datant de la même année indictionnelle, l'aurait volontiers daté aussi du 8^e siècle les *CC. 11-16* et tous ceux du même genre, et ainsi donné les parentes des indications données avec celles des textes *opuntia* et *epiph*. Cependant, Jean-Luc Fournet note que leur paléographie ne leur permettrait plutôt pour le 6^e siècle, ce qui était avancé comme datation par H. Pinfissi pour l'ostrakon de même type conservé à Prague.² J'avoue ne pas être très convaincu et préférer m'appuyer, plutôt que sur des considérations paléographiques qui sont d'autant moins fiables qu'on a affaire à des scribes copiant en grec que des formules figées, sur le fait que, lors des fouilles, les différents types d'ostraca *opuntia*, *epiph* et autres ont été trouvés au même endroit et ont donc des chances d'être à peu près contemporains.

Ensuite, ces ostraca étaient-ils archivés ou bien jetés une fois devenus inutilisables ? La deuxième solution est sans doute plus plausible, car les ostraca fonctionnent plutôt comme des documents provisoires et les données qui y sont contenues semblent être reprises dans des comptes ou listes sur papyrus qui pourraient alors être de véritables documents d'archives. Dans ces listes, les transports peuvent être classés par lieu de production, par nature de vin ou, par transporteur, par date. Les "trav" devraient être facilités par le fait que les différentes données sont placées alternativement en tête d'un des différents types de formulaires. En outre, certainement, cela a facilité l'archivage, que servaient ces ostraca ? On peut essayer d'imaginer la situation suivante :

1) L'ostrakon *opuntia* et *epiph*, qui est le plus complet et le plus redigé, est le document de base. Peut-être est-il confié au responsable du convoyage pour le rapporter.

2) À partir de ce document, l'économiste rédige quelques aide-mémoire ou sont portées, en grec et de manière abrégée, les indications principales concernant plus directement tel ou tel aspect de l'opération. Il devrait y avoir des périodes d'absence assez longue, puisque les transports semblent souvent regrouper sur un mois ou plus.

3) Les aide-mémoire vont servir à leur tour à fabriquer des listes récapitulatives, sur papyrus, qui permettront de payer les salaires et de tenir à jour les comptes. À ce moment-là, les ostraca deviennent inutilisables et on peut les jeter.

Comme il a été dit, le grec semble rester la langue de référence pour cette gestion, ce qui ne reflète pas forcément une pratique encre courante de la langue dans le monastère à cette période.

Présentement, il est évident qu'il n'est pas besoin d'insister sur l'enrichissement que les ostraca apportent sur ce plan pour la connaissance, non pas tant du monastère lui-même, mais de toutes les unités agricoles qu'il possédait et de la population qui travaillait pour lui.

¹ Cf. Worp 2002.

² Cf. Fournet 1997.

Le chantier de Hâroût est désormais largement ouvert et prometteur. Sur le plan archéologique, bien sûr, grâce à la reprise des fouilles, mais aussi sur le plan de ce que l'on appelle "Museum archaeology", un terme utilisé par Sarah elle-même dans sa communication au congrès de Leiden. Plusieurs lots ou collections, identifiés ou étudiés par elle restent à explorer, parmi lesquels les papyrus trouvés par l'équipe et conservés au Louvre, ceux du musée d'Ismailie, et une partie d'un lot de papyrus de l'université de Louvain, documents détruits mais dont les microfiches ont été conservées. Je ne pense pas être non-aimable en mesurant, dans les années qui viennent, de poursuivre des recherches sur la documentation de Hâroût. Mais Alain Delaire, déjà fin connaisseur de l'histoire du monastère, a accepté de prendre la relève pour une partie de ces dossiers. C'est une immense satisfaction, que Sarah, j'en suis sûre, aura pleinement partagée.

1. $\mathcal{A} \in \mathcal{C}_{\text{LTL}}^{\text{LTL}}$ and $\mathcal{A} \in \mathcal{C}_{\text{LTL}}^{\text{LTL}}$ are

Accepted 12 June

17.3 e 17.4 e

8. *suche*

Արտադրողական լուսնուկի հեռավորությունը մեծ է 493

E^h (mV)

Pottery: chunky red ware, heavily ribbed and pitted

Preservation: a complete text of 7 lines with ink partially faded, especially in the final line

{| chute beaucoup; c) ($\frac{d}{dt} \ln v$) est plus négative la partie en gras est plus rapide}

Bibliography: Hefabel 1931: 536-538, n=1; Feuchtm 1986: 214, n=42

1. *Journal of Management Education*, 24(1), 1-14.

2 20150425 141 145 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065 1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074 1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086 1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096 1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106 1107 1108 1109 1110 1111 1112 1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118 1119 1120 1121 1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129 1130 1131 113

7. $\{p_i\} \in \{T(x)\} \wedge \{p_i\} \in \{T(x)\} \rightarrow \{p_i\} \in \{T(x)\} \wedge \{p_i\} \in \{T(x)\} \rightarrow \{p_i\} \in \{T(x)\}$

21710 • *Developmental Biology* • February 1, 2006 • 33(2):21710–21714

S $\gamma_1 \gamma_2 \gamma_3 \gamma_4 \gamma_5 \gamma_6 \gamma_7 \gamma_8 \gamma_9 \gamma_{10} \gamma_{11} \gamma_{12} \gamma_{13} \gamma_{14} \gamma_{15} \gamma_{16} \gamma_{17} \gamma_{18} \gamma_{19} \gamma_{20} \gamma_{21} \gamma_{22} \gamma_{23} \gamma_{24} \gamma_{25}$

(1) 凡在本市行政区域内从事经营活动的个体工商户、企业法人和其他经济组织，均应当依法向所在地工商行政管理机关申报纳税。

$$\mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n \text{ is a linear map.}$$
$$b_{11} = b_{22} = 1, \quad T_{12} = 0, \quad b_{12} = \sqrt{b_{11}b_{22}}, \quad c_{12} = \sqrt{a_{11}a_{22}} \mu^2, \quad T_{11} = \sqrt{b_{11}b_{22}}, \quad T_{22} = \sqrt{a_{11}a_{22}} \mu^2.$$

1 : የብሔራዊ አስተዳደር ማህበራዊ ምክር ቤት

7. *Wissenschaftliche Bedeutung*

³ dans les pays où il y a 40 artabes athéniennes de blé, et 10 artabes de blé du $\delta\delta$ 1.

4. **የገቢት ጥቅም** ለጥቅም ላይ የዋለው የገቢት ጥቅም

[Total] 41 sacs, 40 artabes athéniennes de héc et 10 artabes du ôi-)

6 Le 7^e du mois de l'Annee 12^e l'année de l'indiction

1. Introduction

7. Κίπων ἐγρηγορέτω α]

8. Ηράκλ[

6. α] ἀπ[... ερρ

1. 2^o [livraison ?].

2. Faire rentrer les sacs]

3. de blé de ...]

4. ... par ... l'élèveur]

5. de venir du champ? ...]

6. Variétés de blé de la petite ...]

7. fait par Kuros ...]

8. Sacs [...]

1. [Il] est restitué following *CHiron* 35, 36, 38, 41. See my note in review in *H&M* [C. Jackson 2002], judging from the evidence of *CHiron* 36 reproduced on photo 276 of this part of the *CHiron* 35 is illegible in photo 278, it seems indisputable that the element at the beginning of these four ostraca should be interpreted as [ἐγρηγορέτω delivery 2], as the editors themselves suggested on p. 269 [C. Jackson *CHiron* 35-41, 41].

[Il] est restitué a line above the present line 1, with a vertical cross, but such an arrangement is not found in the comparable texts which begin with the delivery number (*CHiron* 35, 36, 38, 41).

4. [ἐγρηγορέτω] more likely than [ἐγρηγορέτω] or [ἐγρηγορέτω].

5. [ἐγρηγορέτω] reconstruct [ἐγρηγορέτω] in 1-4 if linked with ἐγρηγορέτω [ἐγρηγορέτω] who occurs in *SHKops* 1.226-4 [= *CHiron* 1], and possibly in *SHKops* 1.233-4 [= *CHiron* 8].

[Il] est restitué a p[ro] at the end of the lacuna. [ἐγρηγορέτω] can be read in 1-7, reconstruct something like [ἐγρηγορέτω ἐγρηγορέτω].

6. α] η. [Il] est restitué thought that the oblique stroke at the end of the ostracum abbreviation was uncertain and read the amount of wheat as α] 20^o.

14] ... [Il] est restitué read κίπων [κίπων] "small measure," see *Crat. Dict.* 1004 [256a].

7. κίπων: a reading of κίπων is also possible. Possibly part of a longer name such as Apakyrōs [cf. *Apakyrōs* *CHiron* 11.21-1] [= *CHiron* 11 et 12].

ερρ ... the rho looks certain, but is a reading of erρ likely, followed by Η instead the cross? [Il] est restitué read κ.ρ. ... Ηράκλ[...], and suggested reading the initial letters κ.ρ. ... or κ.ρ. ... [Je crois que la lecture de Sarah est la bonne. On peut hésiter entre ἐγρηγορέτω et ἐγρηγορέτω].

8. Ηράκλ[...] [Il] est restitué read Ηράκλ[...] and conjectured whether this was to be interpreted as ΗΡΑΚΛΑΕΩ or ΗΡΑΚΛΑΕΩ.

Height: 5 cm

Shkopt 1227

11.3 x 14.5 cm

8th siècle

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 996

Plate III

Pottery: thick brown ware, ribbed

[*Écriture* – probablement la même main que celle de *O. Vaux*, cf. *O. Baudiff* 142, p. 499.]

Preservation – the outer surface records 2 lines of compact text, with a further 2 lines on the inner surface which, before conservation, were mostly obscured with the thick layer of a mud-like substance which coated the inner surface of the pot.

Bibliography – Hilabel 1933: 338, n. 2; Feucht 1980: 214, n. 246.

Face externe

- 1 [$\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$]
- 2 $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$
- 3 $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$
- 4 $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$
- 5 $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$

Face interne

10

20

1 $\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$

- 1 [$\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ rentrer cinquante sacs]
- 2 de file du domaine d'Apollon
- 3 dans lequel il y a 50 sacs de blé par Petros
- 4 le *postikos* total 50 sacs de blé par Petros
- 5 Le 1^{er} *istamnos* 50 *piphe* 12 *canne* de l'ouïsion 2 *istamnos*

10

20

1 $\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ the first two letters were changed to $\tau\alpha$ (possibly from $\epsilon\alpha$), and $\upsilon\epsilon$ is written above them. (The correction has also been effected at l. 14, où le ϵ a été recrit sur un η . La main du correcteur ne semble pas être celle du scribe. Comment interpréter cette correction, qui ne porte que sur le nombre de sacs (70)? corrige en 50, et non 52 sacs?)

2 $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ only the letters $\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ of the *trems* is preserved

3. Hilabel read 2000. (Note that the graphic is the same as in *O. Vaux*, i.e. that confirms the identity of the hands.)

4. Pour le titre de *postikos*, qui désigne un homme de confiance ou un intendant, voir aussi *O. Baudiff* 63 et 64, *O. Baudiff* 163, 3, 4, 9, 11.

6.7 From what can still be seen, the hand of the text of the inner surface appears to be the same as the outer, although some of the strokes are written with a somewhat firmer nib. If this is indeed the scribe, it possibly records the date (restored from 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣) and the amount of wheat. The two characters clearly discernible at the end of this line look like *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣* (written upside down). (De l'intérieur des lignes pas voir du sens de lecture de ces lignes. On peut aussi se demander si elles ont un rapport avec l'erreur corrigée dans le nombre de sacs.)

Summer 1998

1000

|| $\Gamma_{\text{LTL}} \vdash \varphi$ ||

Preservation: The outer surface records a times of complete rest

Исследования И.А.Иванова (1954), Н.З.Кочеткова (1956), З.И.Иванова (1956)

- [illegible]

$$k \in \mathbb{N} \quad \text{for } k \geq 1 \quad \text{applying } (k, k+1) \rightarrow (k+1, k) \quad \text{if } k \geq 1 \quad \text{if } k = 0 \quad \text{if } k = 0$$

- 1 «Laitte rentret
2 cinquante sacs
3 de ble du domaine d'Apv
4 Roulans lesquels ont 8 artabes de ble.
5 par le frere Petre
6 Total 54 sacs, 600 artabes de ble (Mors d'El paphi
7 le 17. 12. l'annee de l'indiction
8 3. l'yrason

details recorded in this way in *O. Bouat*. [La lecture de Sarah est juste. Je pense qu'il n'y a rien après le φ, et cette manière d'écrire est la même que celle de *O. Jackson* 4, l. 1.]

O. Jackson 8

SBKopt. 1231

6.5 x 7.8 cm

8th siècle

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 986

Plate IX

Pottery: red ware (pebbled) (couche interne noire, couche externe rouge.)

Preservation: the right-hand side of what appears to be a 5-line text is preserved

[écriture un peu penchée, cf. *O. Bouat* 1005 et 111.]

Bibliography: Bilabel (1973: 560-561), n. 6.

- 1 [φ]ι[ι]ο[ι]o

[text] 5-φφφ

- 1 [l]ame rentrer 1 singt sacs
- 2 [de ble du ch'amp de Claude
- 3 dans lesquels il y a 1 sac malade de ble] par 1 noel
- 4 [l'eleven de vous. Total] 20 sacs [de ble]
- 5 [l.] [O. Jackson]

1. φφφφφφ. Bilabel read φφφφφφ.

2. φφφφ φφφφφφ. Bilabel did not restore φφφφ.

4. φφφφφφ φφφφ. This restoration follows φφφφ φφφφφφ φφφφ in *SBKopt.* 122n.4.]

O. Jackson 4. Mais il faut rester prudent, car 1 noel est un nom très fréquent, et on connaît au moins un 1 noel chamelier dans *O. Jackson* 15 et *O. Bouat* 1003.]

5. φφφφ. Bilabel read φφφφ.

O. Jackson 9

SBKopt. 1232

5.7 x 4.1 cm

8th siècle

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 981

Plate X

Pottery, red ware, with a heavily pitted surface, distorting the legibility of some letters. (poterie rouge, avec beaucoup de cavités extérieures rugues.)

Preservation: the left-hand side of the first 5 lines of text is preserved. [l'écriture et la poterie rappellent celles d'*Uthmaniyah* 4000.]

Bibliography: Helabel 1933: 561, n. 7. Note that this ostrakon was accessioned twice in error, the second time as inv. n. 39697.

1. ~~ἐπὶ τῷ~~ [ἐπὶ τῷ] ἡμέτερον
2. ~~ἐπὶ τῷ~~ [ἐπὶ τῷ] ἡμέτερον
3. ~~ἐπὶ τῷ~~ [ἐπὶ τῷ] ἡμέτερον
4. ~~ἐπὶ τῷ~~ [ἐπὶ τῷ] ἡμέτερον
5. ~~ἐπὶ τῷ~~ [ἐπὶ τῷ] ἡμέτερον

1. * Faire [rentrer]
2. * dans
3. de bled [de ...]
4. dans lesquels il y a [xx] artabs de bled
5. par N N

1-2 [ἐπὶ τῷ] it may be that "sixty" should be read, or that some further text is missing at the end of 1-2, in which case [ἐπὶ τῷ] "sixteen," [ἐπὶ τῷ] "twenty-six," [ἐπὶ τῷ] "thirty-six," and [ἐπὶ τῷ] may have been intended. Helabel read [ἐπὶ τῷ] "four" and suggested that [ἐπὶ τῷ] "six" might also be reconstructed.

Uthmaniyah 10

11.4 x 12.7 cm

8th siècle

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 3995

Plate V

Pottery: red ware. (Surface rouée par la poussière.)

Preservation: all 7 lines of text may be preserved.

[l'écriture: peignée au pen inhabituelle.]

Bibliography: This ostrakon was not published by Helabel along with the other shme-wep-formula texts.

1. Ἐφ' ἡμῶν
2. ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμέτερον [ἐπὶ τῷ]
3. ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμέτερον [ἐπὶ τῷ]
4. ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμέτερον [ἐπὶ τῷ]
5. ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμέτερον [ἐπὶ τῷ]

On distingue des traces d'encres entre les lignes 2 et 3, elles sont peut-être dues à la présence du rebord de l'assiette.

Ostrakon 14

6,2 x 7,5 cm

8^e siècle C²

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 991
Plate V II

Pottery: brown ware, polished
Inchir

1 15 ἡμερῶν δότες Βικτορίῳ

2 κρηνηλάταις (Βικτορίῳ) 7

1 ἡμερῶν δότες 2 σάκκους σιτοῦ

1 17 ἡμερῶν Παρ Πικτόρ

2 2 chamelees, 6 sacs

Compare with Naprstek Museum, Prague, ostrakon P 2025 (Panaudi 1993), which records a transport by Victor of two canals with 6 sacks for the 11th delivery. No provenance, and suggested date = 6th c. BC (introduction).

Ostrakon 15

6,2 x 7 cm

8^e siècle C¹

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 990
Plate V III

Pottery: red ware with a lighter slip, polished
Inchir

1 8 ἡμερῶν δότες Πανόχῳ

2 κρηνηλάταις (Πανόχῳ) 6 ἡμερῶν 7

3 μέτροι Φουκόργου τοῦ ἀποδοκταμένου 15

1 8 δότες 2 σάκκους σιτοῦ 3 σάκκους 7

1 8 ἡμερῶν Παρ Πανόχ

2 10 chamelees 10 sacs de blé

3. Sarah lisait "100 metra of old wine." Je pense que la mesure est plutôt le μέτρο ou le ἀπομυκτὸν (cf. la discussion à ce sujet dans *O BawitP* 16), p. 62). Quant au chiffre, il me semble bien lire un α (76). Il y a évidemment une distorsion avec la lecture εἰκοσντρεῖς, "soixante," de la ligne suivante, qui semble pourtant quasi certaine elle aussi (voir le formulaire parallèle de *O BawitP* 4(2-40)). faut-il supposer une erreur d'une dizaine de la part du scribe?

[416 Jackson 177]

11 x 10,3 cm

8^e siècle (?)

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 1997

Plate IX

Poterie lisse

Préservation: seulement la partie droite, avec quelques lettres

Inédit. Rien n'indique, en dehors de l'appartenance au même lot que les autres, que cet ostrakon vienne de Bawit.

- 1 [ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁ ⲙⲓ]
- 2 [ⲙⲓⲛⲁ]
- 3 [ⲙⲓ]
- 4 [ⲙⲓⲛⲁ ⲙⲓ ⲙⲓ]

1, 4: il me semble reconnaître le sigle des arabes

4: Peut-être "50 arabes de légumes" ⲙⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓ ⲙⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓ = ζαργασιαι, mais on pourrait aussi lire ⲙⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓ ⲙⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓ [ⲙⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓ]

Bibliographie

- Benazeth, D. (1995) "Histoire des fouilles de Bawit," in: Rosenstiehl, J.-M. (ed.) *CBC 8. L'Égypte copte II* (Louvain, Peeters), 53-62.
- Belabel, F. (1933) "Aegyptiaca II," *Aegyptus* 13, 555-562.
- Boud'hors, A. (2004) *Ostraca grecs et coptes de Bawit* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale), *O BawitP*, 143.
- Brunsch, W. (1980) "10 Ostraka aus Heidelberg," *Einzelia* N. 15, 22.
- Clackson, S. J. (2004) "Reconstructing the Archives of the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit," in: Andorlini, L., Bastianini, G., Manfredi, M. et Menzi, G. (eds.) *Atti del XIII Congresso*

- Internazionale di papirologia d'oriente*, 24-29 agosto 1998, Florence: Istituto papirologico "G. Vaghi," 239-236.
- Clackson, S. J. (2003). "Nouvelles recherches sur les papyrus de Bawit," in: Clauoyer, C. (ed.) *CHE 13. Études coptes I III*. Lille/Paris: Association francophone de Coptologie, 77-84.
- Clackson, S. J. (2002). "Review of J. Gadd, *et al* (1999)," *BASP* 39, 100-204.
- Clackson, S. J. (2004). "Museum Archaeology and Coptic Papyrology: the Bawit Papyri," in: Immerzeet, M. et Vleem, J. van der (eds.) *CHE 13.3. Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium I. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden 2000. Leuven: Peeters, 477-480.
- Clackson, S. J. (2006). *Teaching Father, His Brother, Orders from the Monastery of Apollon at Bawit*. *American Studies in Papyrology*, 43. Oxford: Oxford.
- Clarysse, W. (1985). "The Athenian Measure at Hermopolis," *ZPE* 60, 232-236.
- Ulsht, J. (1986). Benazeth, D. et Rutschewsky, M.-H. (eds.) *III-40-111. Le monastère et la nécropole de Bawit*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Bencht, I. et al. (1980). *Das hieroglyphische Archiv des ägyptischen pharaonischen und koptischen Zeitalters*. *Universum Heft 100*. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.
- Trüster, H. (2002). *Hebräische und griechische Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Casson, L. et Weip, K. A. (1980). "Un dossier d'oside du VI^e siècle. Les archives des huiliers d'Aphroditos," in: Casson, L., Messeri Savatelli, G. et Pinnaudi, R. (eds.) *Papiri APK. Miscellanea Papirologica e coptologica del bi-centenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*. Florence: Giunti, 217-246 (vol. I) and pl. XII-XXIII (vol. 2).
- Krause, M. (1955). *Das Ägypt. Apollon-Kloster zu Bawit. Untersuchungen seiner öffentlichen Urkunden als Beleg für die Kenntnis der ägyptischen Monastien*. University of Leipzig: Dissertation.
- Geiter, W. (2001). "Becherelien zum koptischen Schrifttum in Papiri Museen und Sammlungen (Stand August 1996)," in: Angold, E., Busmann, G., Manfredi, M. et Menci, G. (eds.) *XXII Congress International de papirologia d'oriente*, 24-29 agosto 1998, Florence: Istituto papirologico "G. Vaghi," 503-505.
- Pinnaudi, R. (1993). "Ricevuta di trasporto," *BASP* 3, 143-144.
- Tait, W. J. (1996). "A Coptic 'Inquiry' about a Delivery of Wheat," in: Tyre, C., Leahy, A. et Leahy, L. M. (eds.) *The Leiden Real Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of J. P. Shaw*. London: 337-42.
- Weip, K. A. (2002). "The Date of *CC 1000* 13-111 and *CC Bawit* 56-58 & 62," *ZPE* 138, 121-122.

LES CONTRAINTES ÉCONOMIQUES, POLITIQUES ET SOCIALES SUR LE TRANSPORT DE L'EAU DANS L'ÉGYPTE COUPE

A. V. S. D. U. S. I. R. I.

Le dossier des ostraca *optimalen* se compose de 171 textes publiés, pour la plupart apparus sur le marché des antiquités dans les années 1920¹ et dispersés ensuite essentiellement entre 1924 et 1937, entre diverses collections, dont le Musée de l'aire ou celui de Berlin et les Universités de Munich et du Michigan. Tous ces textes enregistrent des liturgies de Bê et proviennent sans doute d'un grand domaine ou d'un monastère. Les documents présentent tous un même formulaire qui comprend la mention « ΤΕΡΟΣΚΟΝ... ou...moulin » et forment donc un lot cohérent, qui date de la même époque et provient du même lieu.²

Les premiers documents ont été publiés par A. Mallon à la fin des années 1920, mais les études les plus complètes et les plus approfondies sont celles de W. Hengstenberg en 1931. Il faut encore mentionner les travaux de H.C. Young et W.H. Worrell en 1942 et celui de J. Shelton en 1990. Je propose ici une étude de ces documents, notamment à la lumière de plusieurs ostraca inédits, une de dont S. C. Jackson avait entrepris l'édition (1974, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118, 115-120) et de 11 autres conservés à Berlin (C. Jackson 1973, 26-29, 30 et 31).

1. *Fig. 1. 2. 3. 4.*

Différentes provenances ont été proposées par les éditeurs. A. Mallon pensait à la région thébaine, plus particulièrement Karnak, là où il a acheté ses ostraca. W. Hengstenberg estimait plutôt que les textes provenaient de Moxyene-l-exple. En effet, un des vendeurs d'antiquités lui avait affirmé que les ostraca venaient d'Ed Deir après d'Assouan. W. Hengstenberg considérait cependant, sur base de quelques arguments linguistiques, qu'ils venaient plus probablement de la région d'Hermoupolis.² Par ailleurs, W. Hengstenberg mentionne aussi l'affirmation d'un autre marchand selon laquelle les textes

* Cet article, en la version anglaise de la conférence, a été présenté à la session B à Rio de Janeiro pour la première fois en 1990. L'auteur s'excuse de ne l'avoir pas publié.

Au cours d'un entretien, l'élève indique qu'il ne s'agit pas de la même chose que l'écriture (S16) (p. 134, 221). On lui demande ensuite si cela signifie qu'il ne peut pas extraire le « *contenu* » d'une proposition attribuée, ce pour renvoyer aux lettres et cette dernière lettre, si le texte est une « *proposition* » (S16) (p. 134).

* Excerpta Latina in Bibliopoli, p. 107, l. 11-12.

On en tire, par exemple, l'existence de $M_{2n+2}(\mathbb{Z})$ dans le cas où n est la somme d'un nombre de Fermat et d'un nombre de Mersenne, ou encore, l'existence de $M_{2n+2}(\mathbb{Z})$ dans le cas où n est la somme d'un nombre de Fermat et d'un nombre de Mersenne.

¹ For further observations on the role of the state in development, see, for example, the following:

1.1.1. *Impure porous crystals*

4.1. *Market Power* 181[illegible]

4.1 If $\text{case}(\text{subnode}_i) = \text{or}(\text{subnode}_i)$ then

proviendraient d'un site copte à l'extrême ouest du Fayoum, sans autre précision.⁴¹ D'autres provenances ont encore été proposées.

Un élément permet cependant de trancher : un des textes (13) a été trouvé lors de fouilles archéologiques en Moyenne-Égypte, dans les excavations de Manqabad plus précisément. La première hypothèse de Hengstenberg se révèle donc juste : les ostraca étudiés proviennent de Moyenne-Égypte.

2. LA DATE

Diverses dates ont également été proposées (entre le *ix^e* et le *x^e* siècles). Les datations se basent sur des critères paléographiques, assez délicates à manier. Il existe un certain nombre de traits identifiables (apparemment nés entre le *viii^e* et le *x^e*). Certains traits sont pratiquement livresques, d'autres sont nettement plus cursives (comme la voyelle *u*). Je pense, à la suite de plusieurs auteurs, que ces textes datent probablement du *viii^e* siècle, car si l'on passe en revue le *vi^e* siècle

3. LE SCHEMA DES TEXTES

Dans le cadre de ce travail, j'ai étudié tous les textes publiés ainsi que les inédits dont j'ayais connaissance. Un tableau récapitulatif des différents éléments du formulaire est présenté en annexe.

Quatre éléments sont indispensables :

1. La date (jour, mois et année de l'indiction). Les éléments de la date peuvent apparaître dans des ordres différents.
2. L'ontoponyme. Il s'agit du domaine producteur d'où vient le blé.
3. L'objet du transport : c'est-à-dire le blé. La plupart du temps le blé est mis dans des sacs et transporté en chariot. Chaque sac contient 3 artabes de blé et chaque chariot est chargé avec 5 sacs. Il y a des exceptions cependant.
4. La mention « *ἰσχυρῶς* » ou « *au moulin* ». Il s'agit de la destination du blé.

D'autres éléments sont facultatifs :

5. La mention « *εἰς* ». Elle est présente dans la plupart des textes.
6. On trouve parfois aussi d'autres mentions, comme le numéro du convoi.

⁴¹ Cf. Hengstenberg (1931b : 11). Mais ces termes ne présentent pas de trace de l'onomatopée, cf. Voûte et Wortell (1942 : 246).

⁴² Jakobitsky pense que l'« ostrakon a été trouvé à Tidda » (hypothèse de K. Krallong) n'est pas fondée, cf. Bagriati (1979 : 40).

⁴³ Cf. Voûte et Wortell (1942) : 246, 247.

⁴⁴ Cf. Voûte et Wortell (1942) : 247.

3.1 La date

La date se compose du jour, du mois et de l'année. Les textes sont datés entre la 3^e et la 11^e année d'un cycle indictionnel.¹² Certaines années sont mieux représentées que d'autres, 2 documents datent de la 3^e année, 30 de la 4^e, 56 de la 5^e, 14 de la 6^e, 46 de la 9^e, 1 de la 10^e et 16 de la 11^e. L'indication de l'année est perdue dans 22 ostraca.

Les livraisons de blé au moulin se répartissent entre le 13 Pachon et le 2 Mesiré, soit entre 8 mai et le 26 juillet. La grande majorité des textes sont datés des mois de Paouni et d'I peiph (Paouni dans 109 documents et I peiph dans 65), soit la période qui suit la moisson. Onze textes sont datés des mois adjacents (Pachon dans 9 documents et Mesiré dans 2). Un texte cependant est daté du 15 Ahiyr (11-12 novembre, texte n° 140), mais ce texte présente d'autres particularités. Dans 11 documents, la mention du mois est perdue.

3.2 Les lieux de production

Le corpus des ostraca *et moneta* a conservé les noms d'une trentaine de toponymes producteurs de blé, qui appartiennent selon toute vraisemblance à un "large estate", un grand domaine, ou à un monastère. La plupart sont construits sur *ouros* n, littéralement "le lieu de..." suivi d'un nom propre, mais on trouve aussi d'autres formations, notamment en *u* et n "le champ de..." et *ouk* et n "le gremer de..."

Voici la liste des toponymes classés par ordre d'importance des attestations : Manapolla (33),¹³ Manhatré (23),¹⁴ Manpaterne (18), Manaton (18), Mannepergou (12), Manpabinanos (10),¹⁵ (Man)peronitrou (9), Phompres (8),¹⁶ Pals (6), Mandam (5), Manpagou (5), Manpelnietou (5), Mangoutinhe (4), Manabralou (3), Ichrete (3), Manatona (2), Manapalaunetite (2), Manatôre (1), Mandoré (1), Mangéorge (2), Mantasa (2), Nsonopaler (2),¹⁷ Proyéritide (2), Thasilike (2), Mangepou (1), Mapélireten (1), Manpelnietou (1), Sembote (1), Xmozekiel (1), Pahoensekonu (1).

La grande homogénéité du matériel nous que certains manuscrits de textes qui ont été trouvés en évidence permettent de proposer que tous ces textes datent d'un même événement, et il est tout à fait possible que les textes de la 7^e année datent du 24, ou 25, ou 26 du mois d'achéon (1^{er} septembre) ou du 25, ou 26 du mois de pachon (1^{er} mai).

¹² Textes n° 119, cette occurrence n'a pas été prise en compte par Wessely (1907, 218, n° 6).

¹³ Ces sont les textes n° 31, 32, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.

¹⁴ Ces sont les textes n° 102 et 120.

¹⁵ L'analyse entre parenthèses le nombre d'attestations. Dans la transcription française des toponymes, l'accent est à la suite d'un nom propre. Certains toponymes possèdent plusieurs producteurs, sont attestés plusieurs fois, notamment du Mandatona attesté dans six endroits dans les ostraca, mais pour des provenances différentes à chaque fois. Peut-être le dompagnatou (ou) les origines du 1000 et les transports y effectués ont été fournis souvent et pour de plus grandes quantités.

¹⁶ Y compris le n° 118 (Wessely 1907).

¹⁷ Je pense au n° 104 (Wessely 1907, 218).

¹⁸ Y compris le "Manpaterne" n° 115.

¹⁹ Y compris le n° 118 (Wessely 1907).

²⁰ Dans tous les orthographes attestées.

²¹ Il n'est pas clair s'il s'agit d'un toponyme.

Pahomnoue (1), Pahozekiel (1), Phouk (1), (2), Phamapa (1), 'Imade patermpot (1). Dans 8 ostraca, le toponyme n'est pas conservé. Aucun de ces toponymes n'est singulièrement attesté ailleurs.² Il faut noter aussi que quelques documents mentionnent deux toponymes différents, c'est-à-dire deux lieux de production différents (n° 102, 106 et 107).

Le plus gros producteur de blé est le Manapollé, sans doute le domaine le plus important, du moins dans l'état actuel de la documentation. En une année, la 6^e du cycle indictionnel, 7³ chariots repartis en 17 chargements ont transporté plus de 1000 artabes de blé du Manapollé. Sur l'ensemble des attestations, près de 200 chariots remplis de blé sont partis de ce lieu et ont été envoyés au stabilim, ce qui correspond à environ 1000 artabes de blé.

Ces indications de quantités permettent en effet de se faire une petite idée de la taille de ce domaine. Sachant que le rendement moyen d'une aune équivalait à 10 artabe,³ et en se basant sur les chiffres de la 6^e année du cycle indictionnel, on peut estimer que le Manapollé devait avoir une superficie minimum de cet ordre (nous n'avons pas tous les textes de 100 artabes soit 24 hectares). On obtient des approximations équivalentes pour le Maniata.

4.4. Les produits et les quantités

Dans les ostraca de la série *chronikon*, le blé est normalement transporté dans des sacs (trivkoi), placés sur des chariots (trigkoi). De manière générale, chaque chariot est chargé de 8 sacs remplis de 1 artabe. Les exceptions sont nombreuses, presque un chargement sur quatre ne suit pas cette règle (voir *infra*).

Souvent plusieurs chariots sont envoyés ensemble, en convois (synvoi), chercher le blé au domaine producteur (cf. *infra*). Chaque convoi peut compter entre 1^{er} et 10^{es} chariots. Chaque jour, plusieurs convois sont envoyés dans différents lieux de produit ou de plus grand nombre de convois différents envoyés le même jour est de 7^{er}. Deux convois peuvent être envoyés deux jours consécutifs au même endroit ou plusieurs convois peuvent être envoyés au même lieu au même jour.

Mais les chariots ne constituent pas le seul moyen de transport du blé, quelques textes entretiennent des transports par chameaux. Il faut remarquer à ce propos que le texte n° 106 mentionne les deux moyens de transport. L'ostrakonote deux livraisons, l'une de 45 artabes de blé du Maniata, reparties sur 1 chariot, et l'autre de 14 artabes de blé du Manapollé, transportées par chameaux dans 1^{er} *thallia*.

¹ Les toponymes sont situés dans les environs de Maniata (1, 2, 3, 4), presque tous plus ou moins à plus d'un jour de marche d'ostrakon qu'il y a de 1000 artabes.

² Cf. l'artabe n° 101, 245 artabes de blé du Manapollé.

³ 2250 artabes de blé transportées par 20 chariots (soit 112,5 artabes par chariot) à Maniata. Acheminées ensuite à Manapollé, avec 10 chariots transportant chacun 10 artabes (soit 100 artabes), 10 chariots transportant chacun 100 artabes de blé et le Manapollé, pour 100 artabes transportées par 10 chariots.

⁴ Cf. les ostrakon n° 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁵ Cf. l'ostrakon n° 104.

⁶ Cf. l'ostrakon n° 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁷ Cf. l'ostrakon n° 104, sans doute au lieu de 1000 artabes.

Le transport du blé par chameaux est attesté clairement dans cinq textes (textes n° 104, 106, 150, 164 et 165). L'examen des attestations montre que les opérations sont essentiellement réalisées en dehors des mois de Paoni et d'I peiphi, la grande période de transport, soit un peu avant, soit un peu après, ou encore tout à fait en dehors.¹ On peut donc imaginer que le transport par chameaux est marginal et utilisé au début ou à la fin de la saison de transport, lorsque le transport par chariots n'est pas ou plus opérationnel. Les chameaux sont apparemment également requis pour le transport de quantités peu importantes de blé, c'est-à-dire inférieures au chargement normal d'un chariot (soit 15 artabes).²

Le blé transporté sur les chariots est usuellement placé dans des sacs³ d'une capacité de 3 artabes, tandis que les chameaux le transportent en *thalla* de 2 artabes. On trouve cependant dans quelques textes des chariots chargés de sacs et de *thalla* (textes n° 87, 139 et 151). Dans un texte (n° 105), on a ajouté au chargement du chariot deux *rup* "paniers".

La qualité du blé est rarement indiquée. Des fois le blé est peut-être qualifié de "vieux" (*ayru* "ancien" ou "vieux blé") (textes n° 164 et 165). Il faut cependant noter que l'interprétation de ces textes est difficile. Dans le texte n° 104, il n'y a pas de toponyme indiqué et dans le n° 165, on peut se demander ce que désigne *rup* *peprou*. Il faut remarquer aussi que les deux textes datent de la fin de la saison⁴ (2^e I peiphi et 2 Mesore) et que dans les deux cas le transport s'est effectué par chameaux.

3.4 Le rapport chariot/sacs/artabes

Le rapport régulier est de 1 : 3 : 15, c'est-à-dire qu'un chariot est normalement chargé avec 3 sacs contenant 15 artabes (soit 3 artabes par sac). Diverses irrégularités apparaissent cependant dans les rapports chariot/sacs/artabes. Les variations ou le rapport est intérieurement ne posent pas de problème. On conçoit aisément que les chariots aient pu être chargés au maximum de leur capacité. La plupart des exceptions sont de faible ampleur (chariots un peu sous ou surchargés). On remarque en outre que souvent les irrégularités apparaissent à plusieurs niveaux, c'est-à-dire que des ajustements ont été réalisés. Par exemple, s'il manquait un sac, on pouvait remplir les autres un peu plus pour que les chariots soient remplis avec un nombre suffisant d'artabes, comme dans le texte n° 88 où 9 chariots assurent le transport de 44 sacs seulement (1 sac manquant mais qui contenait 134 artabes soit deux en trop par rapport aux sacs), ce qui fait que l'écart au lieu d'être de 3 artabes puisqu'il manque un sac, n'est que d'une artabe.

Les chariots ne sont apparemment jamais chargés de plus de 17 artabes.

Je présente ici les principales irrégularités constatées.

Le nombre de sacs par chariot est supérieur à 3. Dans un certain nombre de cas, les chariots transportent des quantités plus importantes, comme dans les textes n° 73 (4:21:63), 97 (3:16:48),

¹ Problème on n'a dans le texte 28, daté du 2^e Pachon, et on envisage le transport de 54 artabes de blé.

² Cf. les textes n° 104, daté du 1^{er} Pachon, et n° 149, daté du 1^{er} Pachon.

³ Cf. les textes n° 105, daté du 2^e Mesore, et n° 106, daté du 1^{er} I peiphi, soit la fin de la saison.

⁴ Cf. le texte n° 139, daté du 1^{er} Aïre.

⁵ Cf. les textes n° 139 et 144 (1 : 3 sacs/artabe) et n° 144 (1 : 3 sacs/artabe).

⁶ Sur les sacs, cf. Margaron 1984.

147 (2:11-13) et 182 (4:22-66). Il faut remarquer toutefois que l'excédent est minime : une artabe à une artabe et demi en plus par chariot.

Cependant, on trouve aussi que, inversement, il y a trop de sacs par chariot. Le total d'artabes par chariot est de 15 (ou inférieur) parce que le nombre d'artabes par sac est inférieur à 3 (ce qui fait que le rapport chariot/artabes est "correct" ou légèrement inférieur, c'est le cas dans les textes n° 20 (15-77-224), 92 (4:23-59), 102 (8-45-78-48), 140 (2:1-100-3:2) et 155 (p.35-90).

Le nombre de sacs par chariot est inférieur à 5. Le chariot n'est donc pas tout à fait rempli, comme dans les textes n° 58 (7-32-96), 82 (3:12-36-131-15-24-60-78-12) et 156 (2:8-24-41) peut aussi arriver que le chariot soit rempli de sacs de la même manière, comme dans le texte n° 151 (4:19-100 sacs et 1 *medimne* 89). Il arrive également que le nombre d'artabes par sac soit aussi divergent : il peut être inférieur à 3 comme dans les textes n° 47 (3-33-66), 79 (13-64-174-14) et 80 (17-33-81-15), ou supérieur à 3 comme dans les textes n° 88 (19-44-134) et 141 (12-56-168). Dans le texte n° 20 (4:1-58) on ne peut déterminer si le rapport entre artabes et sacs est inférieur ou supérieur à 3. Dans le document n° 149 (10-45-135) on peut se demander si un chariot n'est pas simplement revenu vide. De manière générale, les écrits avec la mesure sont donc assez modérés.

Le nombre d'artabes par sac est supérieur à 3. Les sacs sont parfois surchargés, comme dans les textes n° 23 (3-18-47), 1-27 (9-45-24), 34 (7-38-109-11), 94 (11-55-160) et 95 (9-45-124-12). Dans tous les cas, les chariots ne sont pas chargés à plus de 17 artabes, soit deux de plus que la normale.

Le nombre d'artabes par sac est inférieur à 3. Il arrive très souvent que les sacs ne soient pas assez remplis. Cela s'explique aisément : le nombre d'artabes disponibles dans le domaine n'est pas divisible par le nombre de sacs ou, parfois, sur une partie d'elle car, ne sont pas remplis au maximum de leur capacité (3 artabes).¹ Cela arrive dans les textes n° 25 (17-55-90), 35 (2-15-40), 72 (2-10-17), 120 (4-20-32-13) et 142 (1:1-66-102).

Dans quelques cas, on peut soupçonner que les irrégularités du texte sont le fait d'une erreur du scribe ou d'une mauvaise lecture de l'éditeur, comme dans les textes n° 121 et 163, où le nombre de sacs n'est pas rond ; le texte n° 138 (n° 50-105) qui doit avoir subi, dans le nombre de chariots, en 10, le texte n° 117 (19-48-135), où il doit y avoir eu que 2 chariots, le texte n° 130 où la séquence pour doit signifier 165. Les grandes irrégularités qui apparaissent dans les textes n° 102 (p.28-160) et 184 (4-80-135-58) ne sont pas expliquées, peut-être dans ces cas aussi les lectures sont-elles à revoir. Dans quelques cas enfin, l'état fragmentaire du texte ne permet pas de déterminer exactement ou se situe l'irrégularité (textes n° 74-723, 185).

¹ A moins qu'on ne suppose d'une autre mesure, par exemple 3,24 et en 100 par 10, cf. Vonck et Weigelt (1942), 258, p. 6.

² Le rapport chariot/sacs est inférieur à 1, le nombre de sacs par chariot est le plus souvent inférieur à 88 et 141 (ces cas partent du cas où il n'y a qu'un chariot et un sac par chariot).

³ On peut aussi imaginer d'autres mesures, par exemple 2,5 sacs par chariot, mais cela implique des sacs de 15 artabes.

⁴ Le 17 peut aussi être 15, si les sacs sont de 3 artabes, mais cela implique que le nombre total de sacs est 102 (20-47-79-80, 97-102-121-141) ce qui est possible, mais les sacs par chariot ne sont pas ronds.

⁵ A moins qu'on ne suppose d'une autre mesure, par exemple 3,24 et en 100 par 10, cf. Vonck et Weigelt (1942), 258, p. 6.

- 3 Charriots 4, sacs 40, artabes de ble 120
 4 Et j'ai envoyé le chariot le soir
 5 du je l'ai écrit sur l'ostracisme
 6 ce qui veut dire que tu dois aller chercher
 7 neuf chariots
 8 aujourd'hui

2. **Interpr.** A cette place, on s'attend à un toponyme. Il est pourtant peu probable que ce soit le cas en raison de l'abréviation. Même si l'indication du lieu de production est normalement obligatoire. Un seul autre texte ne mentionne pas de toponyme. Ce document est daté du 9 Paut de la 9^e année de l'indiction, soit un jour avant ce texte-ci. La séquence *wnm p* pourrait aussi être comprise comme *bl* (équivalent de *wp* "2 mrs ou 2 jour"). Comme il est question de "le soir" et de "aujourd'hui" dans la note en dessous du texte. L'interprétation 2 nous semble possible.

2. **Orthographe** L'acception *wnm p* se trouve au milieu du texte (cf. p. ex. textes n^{os} 166 et 168).

4. 9. La note des l. 4-9 nous laisse entrevoir le fonctionnement général du transport dont les ostraca *enroulés* sont les témoins. Le transporteur devait s'occuper de huit chariots (cf. l. 4), et la note lui indique qu'il y a un chariot supplémentaire à prendre en charge, donc il devra s'occuper de neuf chariots.

5. **Interpr. linguistique.** Le sens de cette expression pose problème. Les traductions usuelles, "attime de rôle" ou "en partie" ne donnent pas un sens satisfaisant.

12. Jackson 39-25

(Sept textes datés du 9 Paut de la 9^e année de l'indiction)

Je donne ici l'édition de cinq ostraca de Berlin (apparemment identiques) dont voici la traduction: "1 Paut, le 9, 9^e année de l'indiction. Manassé (Chariot 2, sacs 40, artabes de ble 30. Au moulin). J'y ai ajouté la réédition de *Silke* (l. 150 et 151) (Krieger Museum, inv. 25002 et 25003) qui présentent le même texte.

Ces cinq enroulés sont donc sept copies différentes (seul le document au regard du reste de la documentation). L'explication la plus plausible est d'imaginer qu'il s'agit dans chaque texte des deux mêmes chariots, qui auraient fait sept fois l'aller-retour entre le Manassé et le moulin le même jour.

11. Jackson 29

O Berol. inv. 14705
 Plate X

wtm n/kyt

VI-VII siècles
 Moyenne-Égypte

1. *wtm n/kyt* (O. 14705)

2. AHT. HA HATHAHTH
3. AHTAHT. B. AK. I
4. CA. A
5. CTHTHTAHTH

2. AHT. Le scribe a sans doute voulu écrire une nouvelle fois l'abréviation de l'infinitif. Il s'agit donc sans doute d'une dittographie.

CC 147000 20

CC 147000 inv. 14707

6,5 x 7,5 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

No plate

1. AHTAHT. B. AK. I
2. AHT. HA HATHAHTH
3. AHTAHT. B. AK. I
4. CA. A
5. CTHTHTAHTH

CC 147000 21

CC 147000 inv. 14712

9,5 x 7 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

No plate

1. AHTAHT
2. AHTAHT. B.
3. AHT. HA HATHAHTH
4. AHTAHT. B. AK. I
5. CA. A
6. CTHTHTAHTH

2. AHTAHT. L'abréviation AHTAHT. est attestée une fois (SBKopt. 1451 (également datée du 9^e Ptoém de la 6^e année de l'indiction)).

5. CA. A. On retrouve exactement le même trait dans CC Mich. inv. 25007.

14

Σ 10.120.1.120

CCC Jackson 22

O Herol inv. 14715

0.5 x 0.2 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Égypte

No plate

- 1 + ΠΑΥΤΟ ΧΙΩ
- 2 ΚΩΤΟ ΠΑΧΙΩΤ
- 3 ΟΥΧΑΧΩΤ
- 4 ΧΩΧΩΤ ΚΩΧΩΤ
- 5 ΟΥΧΩ
- 6 ΟΥΠΩΧΩ

2-3 ΠΑΧΙΩΤ ΚΩΧΩΤ ΠΑΧΙΩΤ should be recognised in this sequence of toponymic Manapollis (with one letter in the middle of the word)

CCC Jackson 23

O Herol inv. 14716

0.5 x 0.2 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Égypte

No plate

- 1 ΟΥΧΩΤΟ ΧΩΧΩΤ
- 2 ΠΑΧΩΧΩΤ
- 3 ΧΩΧΩΤ ΚΩΧΩΤ
- 4 ΟΥΧΩ
- 5 ΟΥΠΩΧΩ

CCC Jackson 24

ShAgypt 1150 Kelsey Museum inv. 25006 10.2 x 7 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Égypte

No plate

- 1 ΟΥΧΩΤΟ
- 2 ΧΩΧΩΤ
- 3 ΠΑΧΩΧΩΤ
- 4 ΧΩΧΩΤ ΚΩΧΩΤ
- 5 ΟΥΧΩ
- 6 ΟΥΠΩΧΩ

CC Jackson 25

SBKopt 1454 Kelsey Museum inv. 25009 13,2 x 7 cm
Plate XI

VI-VII siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

- 1 + HAY + H
- 2 + HAYKZ + Z +
- 3 HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 4 HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 5 HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 6 HAYKZ + HAYKZ

5-14 HAYKZ trouve exactement le même trait dans O.Berol. inv. 14712

CC Jackson 26-29

(Quatre textes datés du 5 Paoth de la 7^e année de l'indiction)

Je donne ici l'édition de trois textes de Herdia apparemment identiques dont voici la traduction : "7^e année de l'indiction, Paoth, le 5. Manispergos, Chariots, 3, sacs, 15, anabes de ble, 45. Au moulin." J'y ai ajouté la recension de *SBKopt 1467* (O.Berol. inv. 25028) qui présente le même texte.

CC Jackson 26

O.Berol. inv. 14706
Plate XI

4,5 x 8,9 cm

VI-VII siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

- 1 + HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 2 HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 3 HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 4 HAYKZ + HAYKZ
- 5 HAYKZ + HAYKZ

CC Jackson 27

O.Berol. inv. 14708
No plate

7,1 x 8,7 cm

VI-VII siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

- 1 + HAYKZ + Z +

2 $\text{HAKY}^{\circ} \text{ } \text{H}^{\circ} \text{HAKH}$
 3 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} =$
 4 $\text{HAKHAKH}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{HAKH}$
 5 H°
 6 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}$
 7 $[\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{HAKH}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}]$

Le H° et H° est écrit couché (comme sur 110)

Tableau 28

100 l. 10 v. 14⁷ 14
 No plate

8,5 x 6,5 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
 Moyenne-Egypte

1 $[\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{HAKH}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}]$
 2 $\text{HAKY}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{HAKH}$
 3 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}$
 4 $\text{HAKHAKH}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{HAKH}$
 5 H°
 6 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}$
 7 $[\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{HAKH}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}]$

100 l. 10 v. 14⁷ 14. La lecture du chiffre est très difficile. Les traces évoquent un H° , mais les parallèles et le nombre de caractères de vases indiquent qu'il doit s'agir de H° (445).

Tableau 29

SBA 100 116⁷ 116
 Plate XII

7 x 6,5 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
 Moyenne-Egypte

1 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{HAKH}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}$
 2 $\text{HAKY}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{HAKH}$
 3 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}$
 4 $\text{HAKHAKH}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}$
 5 HAKH°
 6 $\text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}\text{H}^{\circ}$
 7 $[\text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ} \text{H}^{\circ}]$

CCC Lachryon 30-32

(Tous textes datés du 28 Paumi de la 7^e année de l'indiction)

Je donne ici l'édition de tous textes de Berlin apparemment identiques, dont voici la traduction: "6-7^e année de l'indiction, Paumi, le 28, Manpabineos: Chariots: 8; sacs: 40; arabes de blé 120. Au moulin." J'y ai ajouté la recension de *SBKopt* 1185 (U. Mich. inv. 25041), qui présente le même texte.

CCC Lachryon 30

CC Berl. inv. 14710

5,8 x 8,5 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

No plate

- 1 ⲉⲩⲏⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲕⲏ
- 2 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 3 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 4 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 5 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ

CCC Lachryon 31

CC Berl. inv. 14713

8,4 x 10,7 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

Plate XII

- 1 ⲉⲩⲏⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲕⲏ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 2 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 3 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 4 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ

CCC Lachryon 32

SBKopt 1185
Plate XIII

Kelsey Museum inv. 25041 10,7 x 14 cm

VI-VII^e siècles
Moyenne-Egypte

- 1 ⲉⲩⲏⲁⲕⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲕⲏ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 2 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 3 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 4 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ
- 5 ⲛⲁⲕⲏⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲏ

Planche 33
Planche 33

CHASSE
 Planche 33

1005 x 8,5 cm

VI-VII siècles
 Moyenne-Egypte

1. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
2. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
3. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
4. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
5. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
6. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
7. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
8. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
9. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)
10. **CHASSE** (à l'oiseau)

CHASSE

Selon l'hypothèse de W. Hempel, les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français). Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français).

Cependant, on peut s'interroger sur la validité de cette hypothèse. Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français). Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français).

En tenant compte de ces différents éléments, je propose de reconstruire le cheminement du bœuf du domaine producteur (producteur) au domaine producteur (producteur).

Le responsable de l'acheminement (acheminement) est le transporteur (transporteur), avec les chariots, du bœuf dans un domaine producteur (producteur) conformément aux ordres du domaine central.

Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français). Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français).

Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français). Les chasseurs sont des lettres de chasse (Hempel en allemand) ou lettres de chasse (Hempel en français).

2) L'asune, au bureau central du "Large Estate" au Djassoussiya, la quinine de blé est comptée: le blé sene est séparé, de même que les grains pousés. Le blé est ensuite expédié au moulin. Et c'est à ce moment que l'on rédige l'*ostrakon enqoualon* que l'on remet sans doute au transporteur, comme un mémorandum ou une lettre de voiture.

3) Le transporteur amène le blé au moulin et remet sans doute l'*ostrakon enqoualon* pour que le responsable du moulin puisse certifier la marchandise.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Ahmed Hay Kamal, M. (1948) "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Hermet, au nord et Beir-el-Kamadlah, au sud," *ASAF* 177-206.
- Bagnall, R. S. (1979) "Ostraca from the Y-dei collection," *BASP* 16, 3-11.
- Battaglia, L. (1989) *Lettere e documenti del papirus antico egiziano*. Milan: Vitae Pensiero.
- Betz, W. (1980) "Katalog der koptischen Handschriften der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Teil II," *JPT* 2*, 121-222.
- Galling, K. (1960) "Datum und Sinn der griechokoptischen Mühlenostraka im Lichte neuer Belege aus Jerusalem," *JHJ* 82, 46-50.
- Hempelberg, W. (1931a) "Die griechisch-koptischen *noy xom* Ostraka," *Z* 56, 81-90.
- Hempelberg, W. (1931b) "Nachtrag zu 'Die griechisch-koptischen *noy xom* Ostraka'," *Z* 56, 122-138.
- Likhtchik, S. (1980) "Rekopy koptyskie," in *Katalog Rekopii egiptskikh, koptyskich i vostochnykh*. Varsovie: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 26-30.
- Mallou, A. (1927) "Quelques ostraca coptes de Thèbes," *RIg* 11, 152-154.
- Mallou, A. (1928) "Nouvelle série d'ostreaux *noy xom*," *RIg* 12, 88-96.
- Mallou, A. (1929) "Les ostraca coptes de Thèbes contenant des comptes de récolte," *RIg* 13, 78-80.
- Meyerson, Ph. (1998) "The Sack (2000-11), the Avaras War (496)," *JPT* 122, 359-404.
- Rathbone, D. (1991) *Economy, Bureaucracy and Royal Society in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Herakleopolis Archive and the Apollonia Estate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saint-Paul Guard, L. (1929) "Adversaria coptica. 2. La formule *noy xom*," *BEP* 40 26, 99-102.
- Shelton, L. (1991) "Ancient Egyptian Ostraca at Leipsig," *Festschrift* 17, 109-114.
- Weinger, J. (1932) "Ägyptische Literaturübersicht III (1914-1931)," *JPT* 10, 98-176.
- Wessely, C. (1928) "Über vier Ostraka aus Luxor," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 1928, 509.

ANNEXE: TABLEAU RÉCAPITULATIF DES OSTRACAS LITÉRAIRES

Je présente ici un tableau récapitulant des différents éléments du formulaire des ostraca *complanata*. Le classement proposé est chronologique. Dans la colonne "mois et jour," l'astérisque (*) indique que la mention du mois et du jour sont ceux de l'année de "réécriture." Dans les colonnes "sacs" et "attabes de bile," les données surprenantes ou les chiffres qui ne correspondent pas au nombre des chariots suivant le rapport usuel (1 : 5 : 15) sont signalés par un point d'exclamation (!).

	Sécl.	Colloq.	Mois et Jour	Chariots	Trains	Chariots par train	Sacs	Attabes de bile	Attabes de bile par sac
1	MDCCCCLXVI	CMCLXXV	Péage 4	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	-	110	-
2	MDCCCCLXVII	CMCLXXVI	Péage 6	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	-	-	-
3	MDCCCCLXVIII	CMCLXXVII	Péage	600 chariots	Maraspodon	1	10	90	-
4	MDCCCCLXIX	CMCLXXVIII	Péage 8	600 chariots	Maraspodon	CM	28	78	-
5	MDCCCCLXX	MDCLXXIX	Péage 1	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	10	90	-
6	MDCCCCLXXI	MDCLXXX	Péage 1	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	10	90	-
7	MDCCCCLXXII	MDCLXXXI	Péage 1	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	10	90	-
8	MDCCCCLXXIII	MDCLXXXII	Péage 8	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	10	90	-
9	MDCCCCLXXIV	MDCLXXXIII	Péage 4	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	100	100	-
10	MDCCCCLXXV	MDCLXXXIV	Péage 4	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	10	90	-
11	MDCCCCLXXVI	MDCLXXXV	Péage 4	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	90	90	-
12	MDCCCCLXXVII	MDCLXXXVI	Péage	600 chariots	Péage 2400	-	15	105	-
13	MDCCCCLXXVIII	MDCLXXXVII	Péage 2	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	15	105	-
14	MDCCCCLXXIX	MDCLXXXVIII	Péage 4	600 chariots	Maraspodon	4	28	78	-
15	MDCCCCLXXX	MDCLXXXIX	Péage 60	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	58	103	-
16	MDCCCCLXXXI	MDCLXXX	Péage 72	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	58	103	-
17	MDCCCCLXXXII	MDCLXXXI	Péage 72	600 chariots	Maraspodon	-	58	105	-

18	<i>Stroph. 1.145</i>	O.M. 1.145	P. 1.145	Stroph.	Manzanilla	4	15	45
19	<i>Stroph. 1.147</i>	O.M. 1.147	P. 1.147	Stroph.	Manzanilla	8	35	905
20	<i>Stroph. 1.148</i>	O.M. 1.148	P. 1.148	Stroph.	Manzanilla	15	77	2240
21	<i>Stroph. 1.149</i>	O.M. 1.149	P. 1.149	Stroph.	Manzanilla	4	20	60
22	<i>Stroph. 1.144</i>	O.M. 1.144	P. 1.144	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	105
23	<i>Stroph. 1.150</i>	O.M. 1.150	P. 1.150	Stroph.	Manzanilla	4	15	450
								8.100
24	<i>Stroph. 1.151</i>	O.M. 1.151	P. 1.151	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	100
25	<i>Stroph. 1.152</i>	O.M. 1.152	P. 1.152	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	900
26	<i>Stroph. 1.153</i>	O.M. 1.153	P. 1.153	Stroph.	Manzanilla	3	15	45
27	<i>Stroph. 1.154</i>	O.M. 1.154	P. 1.154	Stroph.	Manzanilla	9	48	140
28	<i>Stroph. 1.155</i>	O.M. 1.155	P. 1.155	Stroph.	Manzanilla	1	20	60
29	<i>Stroph. 1.156</i>	O.M. 1.156	P. 1.156	Stroph.	Manzanilla	3	15	45
								15.000
30	<i>Stroph. 1.161</i>	O.M. 1.161	P. 1.161	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	900
31	<i>Stroph. 1.162</i>	O.M. 1.162	P. 1.162	Stroph.	Manzanilla	8	38	105
32	<i>Stroph. 1.163</i>	O.M. 1.163	P. 1.163	Stroph.	Manzanilla	6	30	90
33	<i>Stroph. 1.164</i>	O.M. 1.164	P. 1.164	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	100
34	<i>Stroph. 1.165</i>	O.M. 1.165	P. 1.165	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	105
35	<i>Stroph. 1.166</i>	O.M. 1.166	P. 1.166	Stroph.	Manzanilla	7	38	105
								11
36	<i>Stroph. 1.167</i>	O.M. 1.167	P. 1.167	Stroph.	Manzanilla	2	15	30
37	<i>Stroph. 1.168</i>	O.M. 1.168	P. 1.168	Stroph.	Manzanilla	2	10	30
38	<i>Stroph. 1.169</i>	O.M. 1.169	P. 1.169	Stroph.	Manzanilla	3	15	45
39	<i>Stroph. 1.170</i>	O.M. 1.170	P. 1.170	Stroph.	Manzanilla	3	15	45
40	<i>Stroph. 1.171</i>	O.M. 1.171	P. 1.171	Stroph.	Manzanilla	4	15	45
41	<i>Stroph. 1.172</i>	O.M. 1.172	P. 1.172	Stroph.	Manzanilla	4	15	45

42	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1169	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	4	20	48
43	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1161	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Thyridopoda			506 107
44	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1162	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	8	40	120
45	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1170	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	5	40	60
46	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1163	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	5	25	75
47	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1171	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	7	8	15
48	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1172	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Phonopoda	8	25	75
49	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1164	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	2	10	40
50	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1164		$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	5	25	75
51	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1174	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	25	15
52	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1174	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	9	45	85
53	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1173	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	9	45	115
54	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1176	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Phonopoda	6	45	115
55	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1167	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation		15	96
56	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1166	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	3	15	15
57	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1175	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation		15	45
58	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1167	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	5	15	105
59	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1168	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	15	115
60	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1170	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	15	60	90
61	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1176	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	25	115
62	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1161		$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	8	40	120
63	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1165	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	9	15	15
64	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1181	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	9	45	115
65	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1170	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	45	115
66	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1182	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	45	115
67	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1180	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	40	120
68	<i>Stilpnopoda</i> 1184	41 <i>Stilpnopoda</i> 4173	$P_{22} = 7.8$	0.00000	Manipulation	6	40	120

60	OTC 400000 32	OTC 400000 32	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 32	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
70	OTC 400000 30	OTC 400000 30	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 30	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
71	OTC 400000 31	OTC 400000 31	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 31	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
72	OTC 400000 33	OTC 400000 33	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 33	Manufacturing	2	10	30	
73	OTC 400000 34	OTC 400000 34	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 34	Manufacturing	4	20	60	
74	OTC 400000 35	OTC 400000 35	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 35	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
75	OTC 400000 36	OTC 400000 36	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 36	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
76	OTC 400000 37	OTC 400000 37	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 37	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
77	OTC 400000 38	OTC 400000 38	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 38	Manufacturing	8	40	120	
78	OTC 400000 39	OTC 400000 39	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 39	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
79	OTC 400000 40	OTC 400000 40	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 40	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
80	OTC 400000 41	OTC 400000 41	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 41	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
81	OTC 400000 42	OTC 400000 42	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 42	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
82	OTC 400000 43	OTC 400000 43	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 43	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
83	OTC 400000 44	OTC 400000 44	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 44	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
84	OTC 400000 45	OTC 400000 45	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 45	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
85	OTC 400000 46	OTC 400000 46	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 46	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
86	OTC 400000 47	OTC 400000 47	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 47	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
87	OTC 400000 48	OTC 400000 48	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 48	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
88	OTC 400000 49	OTC 400000 49	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 49	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
89	OTC 400000 50	OTC 400000 50	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 50	Manufacturing	14	50	210	
90	OTC 400000 51	OTC 400000 51	Pharm 28*	OTC 400000 51	Manufacturing	14	50	210	

91	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1197	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	7	35	105	
92	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1198	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	4	21	63	
93	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1199	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	10	100	300	
94	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1200	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	11	34	166	
95	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1201	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	9	42	174	
96	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1202	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	8	5	69	
97	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1203	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	1	16	35	1.1
98	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1204	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	1	15	36	
99	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1205	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	10		11	
100	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1206	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	14	120	160	
101	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1207	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	12	20	160	
102	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1208	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	8	15	50	
103	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1209	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	1		80	
104	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1210	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	1		20	
105	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1211	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	4	20	140	
106	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1212	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	10	15	45	
107	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1213	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	1		11	
108	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1214	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	1	15	45	
109	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1215	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	5	4	45	
110	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1216	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	9	45	135	
111	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1217	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	8	40	120	1.00
112	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1218	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	7	35	105	
113	<i>AdK_{ap}</i> 1219	CCM ₁ (1.06) nm ²	$P_{\text{max}} = 0.8$	0.0000000	Manure	6	30	90	

114	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 167	9.10.1946	Marguerite	1	5	65	
115	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.191</i>		Pages 2	9.10.1946	Marguerite (front cover)		45	105	
116	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.190</i>	CCC.40	Pages 217	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)		45	105	
117	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.191</i>	CCC.40	Pages 247	9.10.1946	Marguerite		45	105	
118	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.182</i>		Pages 127	9.10.1946	Marguerite	50	50	105	
119	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.192</i>	CCC.40	Pages 267	9.10.1946	Marguerite	50	50	105	
120	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.185</i>	CCC.40 A.1.1.1.1.1	Pages 27	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	4	1	55	
121	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.193</i>	CCC.40	Pages 277	9.10.1946	Marguerite	8		125	
122	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.193</i>	CCC.40 A.1.1.1.1.1	Pages 337	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	1	5	15	
123	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.191</i>		Pages	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	2		1	
124	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 4	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	4	19	50	112
125	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>		Pages 187	9.10.1946	Marguerite	10	50	150	
126	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 161	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	10	50	150	
127	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.195</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite		55	105	
128	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.195</i>		Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite		5	15	
129	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.196</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	1	50	45	
130	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	1	5	15	
131	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite (back cover)	4	24	105	
132	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	4	50	105	
133	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	6	10	90	
134	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite		10	10	
135	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	4	20	105	
136	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>		Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	5	25	75	
137	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>		Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	10	45	135	
138	<i>MS.A.9.2.1.194</i>	CCC.40	Pages 177	9.10.1946	Marguerite	2	10	40	

The text is a list of publications in the *MS.A.9.2.1.194* series, published by the University of Cambridge. The list is organized by page number and includes the following information: the page number, the title of the publication, the author, the date of publication, and the publisher.

This list is a continuation of the list of publications in the *MS.A.9.2.1.194* series, published by the University of Cambridge. The list is organized by page number and includes the following information: the page number, the title of the publication, the author, the date of publication, and the publisher.

162	<i>Mikrop</i> 1128	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop	6	28	120	epina
163	<i>Mikrop</i> 1129	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop	8		250	epina
164	<i>Mikrop</i> 1129	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
165	<i>Mikrop</i> 1130	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
166	<i>Mikrop</i> 1131	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
167	<i>Mikrop</i> 1132	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
168	<i>Mikrop</i> 1133	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
169	<i>Mikrop</i> 1134	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
170	<i>Mikrop</i> 1135	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
171	<i>Mikrop</i> 1136	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
172	<i>Mikrop</i> 1137	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
173	<i>Mikrop</i> 1138	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
174	<i>Mikrop</i> 1139	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
175	<i>Mikrop</i> 1140	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
176	<i>Mikrop</i> 1141	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
177	<i>Mikrop</i> 1142	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
178	<i>Mikrop</i> 1143	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
179	<i>Mikrop</i> 1144	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
180	<i>Mikrop</i> 1145	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
181	<i>Mikrop</i> 1146	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
182	<i>Mikrop</i> 1147	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
183	<i>Mikrop</i> 1148	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
184	<i>Mikrop</i> 1149	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
185	<i>Mikrop</i> 1150	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
186	<i>Mikrop</i> 1151	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
187	<i>Mikrop</i> 1152	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
188	<i>Mikrop</i> 1153	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
189	<i>Mikrop</i> 1154	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
190	<i>Mikrop</i> 1155	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
191	<i>Mikrop</i> 1156	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
192	<i>Mikrop</i> 1157	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
193	<i>Mikrop</i> 1158	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
194	<i>Mikrop</i> 1159	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
195	<i>Mikrop</i> 1160	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
196	<i>Mikrop</i> 1161	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
197	<i>Mikrop</i> 1162	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
198	<i>Mikrop</i> 1163	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
199	<i>Mikrop</i> 1164	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina
200	<i>Mikrop</i> 1165	10 München 35	1898	11	Mikrop		10	32	epina

503	ADG (g/d) 1.734	CCM (g/d) 1.734					2.5	epider
								inhib
504	ADG (g/d) 1.721	CCM (g/d) 1.721					16	skin
								18
505	ADG (g/d) 1.711	CCM (g/d) 1.711					15	18
506	ADG (g/d) 1.701	CCM (g/d) 1.701						
507	ADG (g/d) 1.691	CCM (g/d) 1.691						

A NEW TEXT FROM FRANCE IN THE KELSEY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY¹

1. $\mathbb{R}^2 \ni (t, x) \mapsto \mathbb{N}(t, x)$

Among the unpublished Coptic ostraca in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology is a letter by the well-known Theban monk Idrange. This ostrakon was acquired for the University of Michigan by Professor Carl Schmidt in Cairo as part of a large group of 4 ophi ostraca that came to the Kelsey Museum in 1942.¹ I offer this small addition to the dossier of published Idrange texts on memory of Sarah Jackson, with whom I had discussed so many Coptic texts over the years.

The text is written on one side of a piece of limestone, most of the ostraca written by Frange are on limestone (as opposed to potters), which is not surprising given the fact that limestone is the more common medium for monastics living in the west. Dighan hills where Frange seems to have spent much of his life. The text is very nearly complete, so that ink traces of almost all of the letters survive, but the whole of the sentence is very badly abraded, especially on the right side where the ends of lines are difficult to read. The hand is typical of that of Frange's less formal correspondence—a bold, initial hand with very distinctive letter forms (this more formal correspondence, to which he sometimes signed his name as "Pharagaz," is written in a more standard semi-cursive hand).

Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
ms. 23124
Plate 813

62 12 9 | 5 5 9 | " 433

Late 19th century to early 20th century
Western Ethiopia

Pharmacopoeia republicana: *Pharmacopoeia* of the Kingdom of Morocco, 1963. University of Michigan Library, 1964. 140 pp. 16 cm. The *Pharmacopoeia* of the Kingdom of Morocco, 1963, is a collection of 1,000 prescriptions for the treatment of various diseases, including malaria, tuberculosis, and leishmaniasis. It is a valuable resource for the study of Moroccan medicine and the history of pharmacology in the region.

For more information on this publication, see <http://www.elsevier.com/locate/jag>, or contact the publisher directly at the address published below. With a view to expanding the journal's international reach, the Editors have decided to publish the Journal in English.

* APH reported second highest percentage of deaths from stroke, but this was a national level that did not necessarily apply to this study. For example, in the stroke population, the percentage of deaths from stroke was 10% in 1999, 11% in 2000, 12% in 2001, and 13% in 2002.

[illegible]

Except for the well known species *Phaenocarpa (Phaenocarpa) albopilosa* (Möschl, 1944-1972) found almost all of the Mediterranean species recorded by National apparatus, except from western Siberia. Fauna is directed on various insects from the west. The same Mesoleptidae of *Phaenocarpa* and *Exochus* from the town of Leningrad (Medved' Hobol) and by the recent finds in Siberia, Leningrad.

here), the only verb that both fits the traces and makes sense in the context is ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲁⲓⲥⲓ, *to turn, to turn back*, which, with the following ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲥⲁⲧⲉⲛⲓ, means “to reject, to turn back.” In prepersonal form, the verb is ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲁⲓⲥⲓ in Salubie traces following that could be read as prenominal object *it*, although this is reconstructed as much from logic as from the traces themselves, followed by ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲁⲓⲥⲓ acting either as a redundant “diminutive” object or, less likely, prepositional phrase “from-him” in reference to the otherwise unspecified deliverer of the bread.

9-10. The range closes with the standard “farewell in the lord” and a crossed rho; between these two elements there is a short flourish or space-filler that appears to be decorative, as is found in various other E range letters (although not otherwise in this specific position).

REFERENCES

- Bondhurs, A. and Heurtel, C. (2002) “The Coptic Ostraca from the Tomb of Ameremope,” *Egyptology* 27, 50.
- Heurtel, C. (2002) “Nouveaux aperçus de la vie épigraphique dans la montagne thébaine. Les ostraca coptes de la tombe 4129,” *BSEF* 184, 29-45.
- Heurtel, C. (2003) “Que fait l’ange dans la cour de la tombe 41-29? Outils dans la cour de la tombe 41-29,” in Cammer, C. (ed.) *Les ostraca coptes III. Actes du 1^{er} colloque d’études égyptologiques* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 14-16 juin 2001) (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters), 177-204.
- Heurtel, C. (2003) *Les inscriptions coptes et grecques du temple d Hathor à Dén el-Medina issues de la publication des notes manuscrites de François Daumas (1946-1947)* (BCE 36), Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Stern, E. (1878) “Salubische Inschriften,” *ZfA* 16, 9-28.
- Walling, J. G. (2004) “New Texts in Familiar Hands: Unpublished Michigan Coptic Ostraca by Known Scribes,” in Immerzeel, M. and Vliet, J. van der (eds.) *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies* (19-21 July, Leuven: Peeters), 4-55.

A GREEK-COPTIC GLOSSARY FROM THE BENECKE COLLECTION

JAMES CLACKSON AND SARAH CLACKSON

Sarah Clackson was H. P. Jones fellow in early books and manuscripts at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale in 2001, during which time she viewed and transcribed many texts. This text she left for me to publish, having provided a full transcription before her death. Full details of the papyrus, information on its acquisition, and an image of the text can be found on the online catalogue of the Yale Papyrus Collection.

The text itself contains a list of Greek words with their Coptic equivalents, written in two columns of over 30 lines each. It is one of a growing number of bilingual glossaries known from the ancient world. The Greek-Latin glossaries have, in general, been well studied, but fewer Greek-Coptic examples have been published (in general, they have been less well studied). Few glossaries are published or republished in texts. *256260 in P. Beinecke 1000.1430a*,¹ including the lengthy word-list of Dioscorus of Aphroditia.²

In Kramer (2001: 8), a distinction is drawn between 'popular glossaries' (*technisch glossare*, *glossae popularis*) and 'school glossaries' (*technisch glossare*, *glossae scholasticae*). The former are texts drawn up by individuals for their own use in understanding every-day conversations or useful words in a language in which they have no competence; the latter are part of a more structured framework of scholarship or education, and they share certain characteristic features with the so-called *hypomnemata* which survive in manuscript form. The *technisch scholastica* include Greek-Latin word-lists arranged alphabetically and by subject, as well as *technisch glossare* and short conversations given in both languages. Kramer argues that the *technisch scholastica* and the papyrus glossaries all probably reflect selections from larger language 'manuals' which might have included *popularis glossare*, alphabetical glossaries, conversations, conjugations, and so on by word glosses on selected text.

It is not always easy to assign the existing Greek-Coptic glossaries to the popular or school glossary category. Take, for example, the most extensive papyrus glossary currently known, that of Dioscorus. The original editors, Bell and Crum, thought that 'Dioscorus' principal object was to extend his knowledge of the Greek language – but more recently Jean Luc Fournet has emphasized that the text should be located in 'late antiquity' (2000: 1). Comparisons with the Greek-Latin examples published by Kramer support the view that Dioscorus' glossary is indeed a school glossary. It contains not just

¹ Fig. 1 (high resolution) and fig. 2 (low resolution) at <http://papyri.oxfordjournals.org>, 2000.

² See Kramer (1981) and (2001) for examples of such *technisch glossare* and *glossae popularis*.

³ Fournet (2000).

⁴ Page 354, esp. 354b20-30 of *Beinecke 1000.1430a*, 256-7, where we have 1-1021 (the text numbers) as in *P. Beinecke 1000.1430a*.

⁵ *Beinecke 1000.1430a*, 256-7.

⁶ *Beinecke 1000.1430a*, 256-7.

⁷ *Beinecke 1000.1430a*, 256-7.

⁸ *Beinecke 1000.1430a*, 256-7.

word-lists, but also some *sententiae*, and these may also have featured in other language manuals and schoolbooks. Not all Coptic glossaries are school glossaries, however. *P. Rami I nterechthkopt* 263 features words for birds and animals and verb forms in Greek and Coptic and does not show the thematic grouping of vocabulary or the arrangement of the material of the school glossaries. *P. C. Jackson 35* shows many important similarities with the Greek Coptic glossaries of the school type, including the following:

Greek words are given without the article but Coptic words with, as in *P. Rami I nterechthkopt* 256 *on* part I, 260, 262 and 264.

Greek words and their Coptic equivalents are separated by the punctuation mark + in column II, the same sign is used in *P. Rami I nterechthkopt* 256, 257a, 260 and 264.

Greek words are cited in the nominative, apart from words which denote unmovable objects, such as 'wheat', 'barley' and 'water' which are given in the genitive, the fragmentary glossary *P. Rami I nterechthkopt* 257 also cites the word for 'oil' in the genitive.

Most importantly, the grouping of vocabulary items in *P. C. Jackson 35* largely mirrors *capitula* glossaries found in the manuscript *heremoneumatata* and in other papyrus examples of school glossaries. I have included in the table also parallels from BNF 332 Ams, a monolingual text with Greek written in Armenian letters which clearly contains analogous material including *capitula*, *sententiae* and *chreiae*.*

<i>P. C. Jackson 35</i>	Item listed	Latin	Parallels in <i>heremoneumatata</i> and papyrus texts
Col. I 1-6	grain, wheat, barley, vegetable seed	in <i>heremoneumatata</i> in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	Texts containing <i>heremoneumatata</i> [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. I 13-24	ass, bull, heifer, sheep, goat, lion	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	Texts containing <i>heremoneumatata</i> [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. I 25-30	crocodile, tortoise	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	[Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. I 31-2 IX 6	pot, mortar, staff, lyre	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	[Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. II 1-4	herm, hogsd, man, camel	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	[Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. II 1-5	bird, goose	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	[Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. II 17-19	vine, fig-tree, cork	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	[Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480
Col. II 26-28 XII 31-5	house, citizen, wall, dove, ladder, cell	in <i>heremoneumatata</i>	[Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480 [Greek] <i>heremoneumatata</i> (papyrus) 251-285:480

Unparalleled in surviving texts are the grouping of objects relating to wood and forestry (wood, tree, axe, staff) at Col. II 6-8 and items made from woven or plaited work (rope, basket, sieve, reed) at Col. II 10-13, although the *heremoneumatata* do contain analogous lists of items connected with a certain

* Published in C. Jackson, 2000.

trade, such as medicine or sea-faring, and items constructed from similar material, as the lists of objects made from iron or from leather. In *Discoeurion* glossary words which probably refer to palm-leaf baskets and basket-making occur at lines 365-473, although the text here is damaged. Note also that a selection of words which relate to platted items (stem, rope, reed) also occurs at B81-512 (Arm. H, 17).

However, there are also aspects of *P. Oxy. 108* 36 which may encourage a different view of the nature of the text. The arrangement of the words is less systematic than other school glossaries, with Greek words written above the Coptic words in Column I but alongside them in Column II. In Column I there seems to be the beginning of the beginnings of a conjugation with "I know" and "I do not know" interrupting the *capitula* glossaries. And the *capitula* seem to start to break down in Column II, as shown by the sequences "year", "month", "day", "name" (ll. 22-6) and "well", "nation", "egg", "door" (ll. 20-3). Similar phenomena can also be noted in other papyri texts: in B54-55? Also there is a very noticeable mixing of material from different sections of the putative original "Language manual" and in *Discoeurion* glosses a list of body parts corresponding to the *de membris* section of the *hermeneumata*, is interrupted between lines 250 and 275 with extraneous material. One might be tempted to explain these oddities through assuming that the text is compiled through dictation, but there are relatively few spelling mistakes in the Greek. Compare the spelling of the word for "god," *kyrios* in *P. Oxy. 108* 36 but not in *P. Oxy. 108* 37 (ll. 282-3). In the latter the writer appears to have been a Greek lexicographer who took down the Greek words by ear. If *P. Oxy. 108* 36 was compiled in this way one would expect far more errors of this type. We Coptic lexicographers to doubt the writer's competence in the language. Despite the peculiarities of this text, it could seem best to place it in a school context, and I am inclined to think that it represents a late stage in the tradition of glossaries when the coherence of the original texts had been largely lost.

In the edition of the text I am very grateful to Dr Jacques Vander Vliet, who has made a number of helpful suggestions on the transcription and commentary. He also adds the following observations:

"It might be not uninteresting to say something about the kind of Coptic that is used here. Unlike a number of other papyri, gloss forms that are non-standard Sahidic (of which a large number exists) but are instead classified by Crum as Achaemenic or Old Coptic are conspicuous. Examples in question are the general preference for *a* over *Sah* (e.g. 2. *axwem*, 280-1, etc.), the avoidance of double vowels (e.g. *xy*, 200-1, and forms like *mooc* (Sah normally *mooy*), 201) for *mo* (cf. 80. correct *ay* (Sah normally *ay*)) (201-1). On the whole it looks as if this glossary came into existence somewhere in Middle Egypt."

¹ See also the commentary on *Leontius* in another papyrus fragment of a letter which may have come through the transmission of this work (5).

P. Chester Beatty 35

P.45 BR inv. 4501 quad

52.9 x 14.7 cm

VII-VIII century

No plate

In the original Column I is written alongside Column II, here they are given separately

Line	Col. I	
1	χοῦρος	pig
2	ὄπρ	pig
3	ἐλῆτο	wheat
4	ὄπρ, ὄπρ	wheat
5	καὶ ὄπρ	barley
6	ὄπρ	barley
7	ἐλῆτο καὶ ὄπρ	vegetable seed
8	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	radish
9	ἐλῆτο	know
10	ἐλῆτο	know
11	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	know, not know
12	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	know, not know
13	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	sheep
14	ἐλῆτο	sheep
15	ἐλῆτο	bull
16	ἐλῆτο	bull
17	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	heifer
18	ἐλῆτο	heifer
19	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	sheep
20	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	sheep
21	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	goat
22	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	goat
23	ἐλῆτο	lion
24	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	lion
25	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	crocodile
26	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	crocodile
27	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	'Nile perch'
28	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	'Nile perch'
29	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	Nile fish
30	ἐλῆτο, ἐλῆτο	Nile fish

31	αὐτῶν	pot
32	ἡδ' αὖτε	pot
33	μαχαίρης	knife
34	ἐκείνῃ	knife
35	θώρα	armor
36	τὸ ἐκ κελύ	mortar
37	αὐτῶν	fly (?)
38	ὀστρεῶν	shell
39	δουρτηδὼν	finger
40	ἐκείνῃ	finger

1. ποτὶ, 2. αὐτῶν, 3. αὐτῶν, 4. αὐτῶν, 5. αὐτῶν, 6. αὐτῶν, 7. αὐτῶν, 8. αὐτῶν, 9. αὐτῶν, 10. αὐτῶν, 11. αὐτῶν, 12. αὐτῶν, 13. αὐτῶν, 14. αὐτῶν, 15. αὐτῶν, 16. αὐτῶν, 17. αὐτῶν, 18. αὐτῶν, 19. αὐτῶν, 20. αὐτῶν, 21. αὐτῶν, 22. αὐτῶν, 23. αὐτῶν, 24. αὐτῶν, 25. αὐτῶν, 26. αὐτῶν, 27. αὐτῶν, 28. αὐτῶν, 29. αὐτῶν, 30. αὐτῶν, 31. αὐτῶν, 32. αὐτῶν, 33. αὐτῶν, 34. αὐτῶν, 35. αὐτῶν, 36. αὐτῶν, 37. αὐτῶν, 38. αὐτῶν, 39. αὐτῶν, 40. αὐτῶν.

Col. II		
1	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	knife
2	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	blood-mate
3	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	canoe
4	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	bird
5	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	grass
6	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	wood
7	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	axe
8	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	tree
9	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	staff
10	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	rope-cord
11	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	basket
12	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	net
13	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	reed
14	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	vallat
15	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	road
16	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	water
17	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	ruin
18	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	linen-cloth
19	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	cloak
20	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	fig
21	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	Ulapia fish
22	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	year
23	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	month
24	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	dog
25	ἐκείνῃ, ἡδ' αὖτε	house

17. The Coptic word given as equivalent to Greek $\delta\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\varsigma$ has been read by Jacques van der Vliet, who notes that it is "the normal translation of the Greek word (see *Crux* 48a, s.v. $\kappa\alpha\gamma\omega\iota$)."

19-20. The Greek and Coptic words for "sheep" also occur in *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.89, 262.29 and 263.2.

21-22. *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.90, 262.30 and 263.3 again state this equivalence. Note that the words for "bull," "sheep" and "goat" occur in the same order in all three Greek-Coptic glossaries. The significance of the letters at the margins of this line and the next two is not clear.

23-24. The same Greek and Coptic words for "hen" are given by Dioscorus *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.83.

25-26. Again, this gloss is also found in Dioscorus' glossary *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256-404. Dioscorus gives the Greek form as $\sigma\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, showing the same initial sequence $\sigma\alpha\gamma\kappa$.

27. The Greek word here represents $\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$, a diminutive of $\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega$, the word which provides the Coptic gloss.

29-30. Again the Greek word $\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega$, attested in papyri as a word for a fish, is a diminutive of $\lambda\alpha\tau\omega$, the word given as the Coptic equivalent.

31. $\mu\alpha\mu\phi\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ is metalithesized for $\mu\alpha\mu\phi\tau\epsilon$.

38. Sarah C. Wickham suggested that this word was the Coptic equivalent for "fly" related to $\mu\alpha\mu\phi\tau\epsilon$ "prick sting gold" or $\mu\alpha\mu\kappa$ "clap," but $\mu\alpha\mu\kappa$ is attested as the Coptic word for "shell," and it is possible here that the Greek in the line above stands for $\mu\alpha\mu\phi\tau\epsilon$ "fly" but $\mu\alpha\mu\phi\tau\epsilon$ "mussel, shell." The inclusion of a word for "shell" is perhaps more likely in the context of pots and knives than "fly."

39-40. The same pair of words occurs at *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.290.

Footnote

1. The same pair occurs in Dioscorus' glossary *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.76, and in *P. Rami Intercolitica* 263.3-4. *P. Rami Intercolitica* 262 has a different gloss for "house."

2. In Dioscorus' glossary the Coptic word for "date" written $\mu\tau\alpha\mu\mu\mu$ glosses Greek $\rho\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon$ *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.81.

3. The same gloss is given by Dioscorus *P. Rami Intercolitica* 256.71.

4. $\mu\tau\alpha\mu\mu\mu$ is metalithesized for $\mu\tau\alpha\mu\mu$. This gloss is also found at *P. Rami Intercolitica* 260.11 and 263.1. Jacques van der Vliet notes that in this text and *P. Rami Intercolitica* 260 the word is given in the feminine, although the masculine form is the one usually recorded in modern dictionaries.

10. $\mu\tau\alpha\mu\mu\mu$ uniquely in this text the article is not written but instead the morpheme $\mu\alpha$ which normally is attached to postponed subject nouns. $\mu\tau\alpha\mu\mu$ I take to be somehow connected with another "rope of palm fibre" (only interchange of τ for μ). Jacques van der Vliet suggests that the form $\mu\tau\alpha\mu\mu$

¹ *Crux* 1933: 820b.

² *Crux* 1933: 763c.

³ *Crux* 1934: 760b.

⁴ *Crux* 1934: 761a.

⁵ *Crux* 1934: 559c.

may result from a metathesis of a hypothetical $\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ to $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ ($\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ represents the article with *error, the expected counterpart to $\text{H}\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$).

12. Jacques van der Vliet points out that the initial π of $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ (for $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ "sieve") is redundant, as π represents the article π with the initial ϵ of the lexeme.

19. The Coptic word glossing Greek $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ is itself a loanword from Greek $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$.²²

21. The same equation between Greek $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ and Coptic $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ is found in [Hasson's] glossary.²³

23. After the final ϵ of $\mu\epsilon\tau$ there appears to be a second ϵ in the original text.

24. The word for "dog" $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ can be restored here by comparison with *P. Rami (Tanta) achikopt* 262.27 and 263.3.

26. There is no Coptic word beginning $\pi\alpha\chi$ meaning "artisan/manufacturer." Jacques van der Vliet suggests that the word may be a composite with $\pi\alpha\chi$ (ps. of $\pi\alpha\chi$, "to collect," see *U. num. 800b-807a*). Then, $\pi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ ("gatherer," unattested, but at least possible) would seem logical.²⁴

28. The Coptic word for "bath" intended here may be the Greek loanword $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ or $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$.

29. $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ and $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ also appear in consecutive lines in *P. Rami (Tanta) achikopt* 256.187-8 but there $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ is glossed by $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$, the normal Coptic word for "kitchen." $\pi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ is Coptic $\alpha\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau$ "a vessel or tank of metal."²⁵

34. Greek $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ must represent the word $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, attested as the word for a staircase in the papyri.²⁶ The Coptic equivalent $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$ means staircase or ladder.

²² *U. num.* 834. 435a.

²³ *U. num.* 800b. 807a.

²⁴ *P. Rami (Tanta) achikopt* 256.477-477.

²⁵ See *U. num.* 2002. 454.

²⁶ *U. num.* 1933. 209.

²⁷ See Hasson 1983: 276-279.

²⁸ *U. num.* 1934. 437b. c. $\pi\tau\tau\epsilon\tau$.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bell, H. L. and Crum, W. E. (1925) "A Greek-Coptic Glossary," *Papyrologica* 6, 177-226.
- Clackson, J. (2000) "A Greek Papyrus in Armenian Script," *ZPE* 129, 223-258.
- Crum, W. E. (1934) *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fournet, J.-L. (1999) *Hiérconsou, l'art égyptien du 6^e siècle en l'obélisque et l'œuvre de Diodore d'Éphèse*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Forster, H. (2002) *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin: DeGruyter.
- Goetz, C. (1892) *Corpus palaeocopticum Latinecum III: hermopolitana Psephostichura*, Leipzig: Teubner.
- Hasitzka, M. (1990) *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch Lateinisch Vokabular aus der Papyriensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, v. 1, XVIII*, Vienna: Moldotek.
- Husson, G. (1983) *CHALÉ: Les inscriptions de la maison grecque d'Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris: Sorbonne.
- Kramer, J. (1983) *Grammatik der koptischen Sprache*, Bonn: Habelt.
- Kramer, J. (1996) "Glossaire latin-antique de l'écriture papiracée," in J. Harniss (ed.) *Les manuscrits des Évangiles en grec et en latin*, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 26-40.
- Kramer, J. (2001) *Antiquae Graecae litteraturae: Corpus Boilog. II: Archiv für Papyrologie und verwandte Gebiete*, Berlin & München: Leipzig: K. G. Saur München.

LE DOSSIER DES RECUS DE TAXE GRECS DU MONASTÈRE D'APA APOLLŪA BAOUT

ALAIN DELATRE ET SIKKON VOXONIS

Il y a quelques années, à l'occasion de la publication de P.Duk. inv. 498, N. Gromis a mis en évidence un petit dossier de recus de taxe de capitation (*ta dronasi*) qui proviennent du monastère d'apa Apollŭa Baout.¹ Ces documents présentent une structure idiosyncrastique et sont signés par Bikios (P.Lond. V 1747, P.Lond. V 1748, SB XIV 11332, SB XXXI 10686, SB XXXI 10788). On peut ajouter à la série deux autres pièces, signées par des responsables différents : P.Lond. I 103¹ et P.Lond.Ber. XIX 24. Nous proposons ici une synthèse sur ce dossier et l'édition de quatre nouvelles pièces : P.Clackson 36 (= P.Held. inv. 308v), P.Clackson 37 (= P.CyRR. inv. 1841v), P.Clackson 38 (= P.Brux. inv. 9483v) et P.Clackson 39 (= P.CyRR. inv. 1843v). L'édition des textes au verso desquels les recus de taxe sont notés est jointe en annexe (P.Clackson 40-43).

Sur le plan matériel, les documents se présentent sous la forme de petits coupons de papyrus de forme rectangulaire, longs d'à peu près 10-15 cm sur 5-8 cm de haut.² L'orientation des fibres est indifférente.³ La structure des textes se conforme à un formulaire strict :

Les 500 colones (soit 500 lignes) du papyrus ont été divisées en 25 colonnes, soit 20 colonnes appartenant de droit à l'occupant (P.Clackson 36 et 37) et 5 colonnes appartenant au propriétaire (P.Clackson 38 et 39) ainsi que l'ont signalé l'annexe P.Clackson 40-43, à moins qu'il s'agisse de :

¹ N. Gromis (2000).

² P.Clackson 1975, p. 1.

³ P.Lond. I 103¹ et P.Lond.Ber. XIX 24.

⁴ P.Duk. inv. 498v et P.Lond. 2000.

Le second support est en fait un simple fragment de papyrus qui conserve le texte pour une édition avec excédent, c'est-à-dire le papyrus qui a été divisé en 25 colonnes. Les 500 colones (soit 500 lignes) du papyrus ont été divisées en 25 colonnes, soit 20 colonnes appartenant de droit à l'occupant (P.Clackson 36 et 37) et 5 colonnes appartenant au propriétaire (P.Clackson 38 et 39) ainsi que l'ont signalé l'annexe P.Clackson 40-43, à moins qu'il s'agisse de :

Le second support est en fait un simple fragment de papyrus qui conserve le texte pour une édition avec excédent, c'est-à-dire le papyrus qui a été divisé en 25 colonnes. Les 500 colones (soit 500 lignes) du papyrus ont été divisées en 25 colonnes, soit 20 colonnes appartenant de droit à l'occupant (P.Clackson 36 et 37) et 5 colonnes appartenant au propriétaire (P.Clackson 38 et 39) ainsi que l'ont signalé l'annexe P.Clackson 40-43, à moins qu'il s'agisse de :

N. Gromis avait dit que les documents sont des fragments de papyrus qui ont été divisés en 25 colonnes (2000, 151). L'hypothèse est maintenant confirmée par la découverte de documents du même type, également signés, deux fois, à l'endroit et à l'envers, à l'exception de la signature de Bikios (P.Duk. inv. 1841v et 1843v) et le papyrus BSI I A inv. 2846a, publiés dans Clackson (2008, 2).

⁵ Nous remercions les professeurs R. Balthasar et D. Hagedorn de nous avoir autorisés à publier les papyrus des collections de Vairel et Heidelberg, ces derniers ont été étudiés à partir de photographies agrandies.

⁶ Sand SB XXXI 10678a qui a la forme d'un carré d'environ 7,5 cm de côté.

† *ἄνθρωποι ποσὸν ἀποθήκη* = nom du (des) contribuable(s) et, avec éventuellement son (leur) titre,

ἀπὸ ἐνδίκτου = année de l'indiction,

le montant payé, p. ex. *ἄπο ποσὸν ἀποθήκη*, souvent suivi d'un total *ποσὸν ἀποθήκη*,

la date (jour, mois et année de l'indiction),

1. le nom du scribe(s)

la signature du (des) responsable(s).

Les reçus sont adressés à un ou plusieurs contribuables¹. Il s'agit le plus souvent de monnaies.

Tous les reçus mentionnent des paiements pour l'*ἀντίκομος*. Il faut noter par ailleurs que le monastère produisait sans doute aussi d'autres reçus en grec pour d'autres taxes. *P' Jackson* XXV 78, par exemple, porte apparemment le texte d'un reçu de taxe *ἐκστ* en grec. Ce document provient du monastère de Banuli, puisqu'il est signé par Daniel, un supérieur de ce monastère, comme le montre la comparaison des signatures entre les reçus de taxe et les ordres à *ἀποδοῦναι* (*QVT III 10, 28*) du même personnage.

Les montants sont compris entre 1 et 2 *solidi* ou. Apparemment, l'impôt ne dépasse pas un *solidus* par personne. Dans *P' Jugul Rat* XIX 24, 2, les colporteurs ont lu « 13 », mais l'examen de la planche montre qu'il faut lire γ' « 3 ».

Les documents sont tous datés de manière relative (année de l'indiction). La paléographie et les rapprochements prosopographiques permettent de les dater de la première moitié du VIII^e siècle.

Trois scribes différents apparaissent dans le dossier Mousanos. Proustion est le dernier et est attesté dans un seul document (*P' Jackson* 37). Mousanos est attesté dans d'autres documents, encore inédits du monastère (*P' Dak*, inv. 14336, *P' Land*, inv. 19). Sa période d'activité couvre au moins six ans (2^e à 8^e année d'une indiction). Proustion lui a probablement succédé. L'examen du dossier des reçus de taxe montre en effet que Mousanos est actif dans les 5^e, 6^e et 8^e années d'un cycle indictionnel (*P' Jackson* 38, *P' Land* X 1748, *P' Jackson* 40) et que Proustion est actif pendant la 1^{re}, la 8^e et la 10^e année d'un cycle (*P' Jackson* 36, *P' Land* X 1747, 80 XIV 1332, 38 XXV 1664b, et sans doute aussi 38 XXVI 1668a). Le fait que le responsable Hektor est attesté dans des textes écrits par Mousanos (*P' Land* X 1748 et *P' Jackson* 39) et dans un autre de la main de Proustion (*P' Land* X 1747) rend la proximité chronologique des deux scribes, et le remplacement du premier par le second, très probable. Dans ce cadre, on peut placer la fin de l'activité de Mousanos entre le 20 Niviv de la 8^e année d'un cycle indictionnel (*P' Jackson* 39, écrit par Mousanos) et le 3 Meechir de la même 8^e année (38 XXV 1664b, rédigé par Proustion). *P' Jackson* 36, signé par Proustion et date de la 1^{re} année de l'indiction,

¹ La longueur varie entre 6 et 17, les chiffres les plus nombreux se situant entre 8 et 10. La hauteur mesure entre 4 et 8,9 cm.

² Mousanos est aussi attesté dans un *ὑπομνήμα* (document écrit à la demande d'un documentaire) daté de 1029, ce qui limite le début de Proustion. Mousanos a aussi le titre de *ἐκστ* (colporteur), document daté de 1026, également perpendiculaire à *P' Land* 1403, 38 XIV 1332, signé par le même *ἐκστ* (*QVT III 10, 28*) (*P' Land* XIX 24).

³ *QVT III 10, 28*.

⁴ P. ex. *BA¹ III 367*. Les textes cités par Deslauriers comprennent deux inédits qui sont publiés dans *Jackson* 2008, p. 14-17.

est dans le cadre de cette hypothèse (postérieur cycle suivant) : *P. Lond. V* 1747; *SB* XXV 116946; *SB* XIV 11332, datés des 5^e et 6^e années d'avexele.

Plusieurs responsables différents apparaissent dans les textes : Apollo, Biktôr, Germanos, Helias, Johannes le *kathigotos*, Serge, Mena et Meou. Biktôr est le plus souvent attesté, régulièrement avec un ou plusieurs autres et responsables (Bektôr et Apollo dans *SB* XIV 11332 et *SB* XXV 116946, Serge, Elias et Biktôr dans *P. Lond. V* 1748, et de Biktôr et Mena dans *P. Chackson* 39).¹

Seul un personnage est connu d'un autre *kathigotos*, le *katagotikos*. La fonction des autres responsables est difficile à préciser. *P. Lond. III* 24 apporte peut-être un début de réponse : le document est signé par Germanos, qui est aussi connu comme supérieur du monastère (cf. note 7, *supra*). Il n'est donc pas impossible que ce soit le supérieur du monastère de Baout, accompagné éventuellement d'autres responsables, qui signe les requêtes de taxe de ce dossier.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Houd'bury, A. (1893) "Papyri de Cléda au Musée du Louvre," in *Revue de l'Égypte Égyptologique et Archéologique. Mémoires de l'Association Française d'Égyptologie* (Wiesbaden), 1. (Reichert Verlag), 29-38.
- Chackson, S. L. (2008) *Is this Letter Two Pairs? Clues from the Unmarked of Apollo in Baout* (*American Studies on Papyrology* 43) (Oxford, Oxbow).
- Gamby, S. (1988) "Kont. Lyche 328," *Pap. 14*, 329-330.
- Gamby, S. (2000) "Two Ptolemaic Receipts from Early Islamic Egypt," *ZPE* 131, 150-154.
- Peckman, Z. M. (1978) "Two Receipts from the Yale Collection," *BMP* 12, 13-18.
- Stippert, P. L. (1972) "Some Byzantine Papyri from the Amsterdam Collection," *Medio Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica. Byzantina Neerlandica* 3, 1-8.

¹ Cette pratique de double signature n'est pas sans rapport avec *P. Lond. V* 1747, signé par l'archimandrite Daniel et par un certain Mésar.

² Il est aussi possible que ces signatures soient une autre version à usage d'archive descendante.

Geminatos (*P. Lond. Brit. XIX, 24*). La comparaison paléographique tend à suggérer qu'il pourrait s'agir de Biktir seul.

P. Oxyrhynchus 39

P. Oxyrh. inv. 1843v

49 x 19,5 cm

VIII^e siècle

Plate XVI

Le coupon de papyrus est de forme rectangulaire et de couleur brun-berge. Le texte est très bien conservé et presque complet, seule la première ligne est ratée.

Le papyrus porte le texte d'un reçu de taxes en grec, s'adressant apparemment pour l'année 696/7 à des textes parallèles¹. Le document est écrit par le scribe Mousaios et signé par le responsable Biktir, puis contresigné par un certain Meta.

Les quatre lignes d'écriture sont parallèles aux fibres. Les marges de gauche, de droite et inférieure sont conservées. L'écriture de la première main est cursive et présente de nombreuses ligatures. La deuxième main est celle du responsable Biktir. Le troisième est cursive et appliquée, mais on y trouve quelques ligatures. La troisième main est tout à fait indéchiffrable.

Le texte est écrit au verso d'une lettre fragmentaire, découpée pour servir de support au reçu de taxe ref. L'écriture en annexes:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | [Εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὑμῶν ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀποδοχὰς] |
| 2 | ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἀποδοῦμεν ὑμῖν τὰς ἀποδοχὰς ὑμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀποδοχὰς] |
| 3 | Ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰς ἀποδοχὰς ὑμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀποδοχὰς] |
| 4 | 2 ^e m. 1 ^e Biktir ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα |
| 5 | 3 ^e m. 1 ^e Mousaios ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα |

1. *ἡμεῖς ἀποδοῦμεν ὑμῖν τὰς ἀποδοχὰς ὑμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀποδοχὰς*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | 1 ^e 2 ^e m. reçu de taxes en grec, s'adressant apparemment pour l'année 696/7 |
| 2 | de la huitième année de l'indiction des 2 ^e <i>anathema</i> 2 ^e deux |
| 3 | Harbise 20, 8, années de l'indiction: Mousaios l'a écrit |
| 4 | Biktir marque son accord |
| 5 | 1 ^e Meta marque son accord |

2. *ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἀποδοῦμεν ὑμῖν τὰς ἀποδοχὰς ὑμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀποδοχὰς*. Les textes signés par Mousaios sont datés des 5^e, 6^e et 8^e années d'un cycle indictionnel (probablement le même).

ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰς ἀποδοχὰς ὑμῶν τὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀποδοχὰς. Généralement le montant exigé est d'un sou d'or par personne. Il est donc possible que le reçu soit adressé à deux contributeurs, peut-être un père et son fils, comme dans *P. Lond. V, 1748*.

3. *Μουσάιος*. Mousaios est le scribe de nombreux textes du monastère, en particulier des reçus de taxes ref. *supra*, son nom est toujours écrit au génitif.

4. *Βικτίριος*. Le responsable Biktir est attesté dans d'autres reçus d'*anathema* ref. *supra*.

P⁴ Jackson 40-43

4 Annexe: Édition des rectos

La plupart des rectos de taxe du dossier ont été écrits au verso d'un document plus ancien, découpé pour servir de support à un nouveau texte. On trouve ainsi aux rectos du protocole byzantin (10), un contrat (3 et 7¹), une liste de comptes et de sommes (2, 4 et 6²). Seuls trois papyrus ont le verso vierge (3, 9 et 11). Je propose ici l'édition des rectos des quatre requêtes citées ici.

P⁴ Jackson 40

P⁴ Herakleia 300
Plate XVI

16,5 x 7,5 cm

VIII^e siècle

Il s'agit apparemment d'une liste de noms, mais le texte est très difficile dans le détail.

Les onze lignes d'écriture sont perpendiculaires aux fibres. Aucune marge n'est conservée. L'écriture est bougare.

Le verso a été réutilisé pour un reçu de taxe rédigé en grec (édité ici sous P⁴ Jackson 36).

1	1	1	
2	2	2	Abraham.
3	3	3	le costume (4)
4	4	4	ses frères
5	5	5	son frère et Pk
6	6	6	son frère et (4)
7	7	7	Mena et
8	8	8	tailleurs
9	9	9	village
10	10	10	les paysans
11	11	11	et Prém

¹ JAKA. À ma connaissance, il n'y a qu'un seul nom terminant par KAK: TAKA (M¹ 103 111, p. 110, n° 50, l. 41).

² POK. Le nom propre POK est attesté dans BA¹ 116 335 et dans une inscription de Haqim (M¹ 103 103, p. 30, n° 21 = ANAK POK - dē - dē - hōnē pōkē - C'est probablement une variante du nom grec Πόκις.

5. $\phi\gamma$?. On pourrait interpréter la séquence $\phi\gamma$ comme l'abréviation du mot grec $\phi\omega\gamma\eta$ "la rue," qui est attesté plusieurs fois en copte (cf. Förster 2002 : 712).

7. ipy . On pourrait interpréter cette séquence comme la fin d'un nom propre (cf. p. ex. $\text{m}\epsilon\tau\pi\gamma$ dans *P. Bod.* 225). Mais on peut aussi envisager qu'il s'agisse, comme à la l. 5, d'une "adresse" avec la mention d'une rue.

8. $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau$. Ce mot est attesté dans une inscription de Baouit (*ABP* 10212, p. 80) : $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\chi\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau$ "Notre père $\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ Jakôb le tailleur".

$\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\pi$. Le mot $\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\pi$ "rôve" n'est attesté qu'une fois en sahidique (cf. $\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\pi$, *P. Ber.* 18021), il pourrait aussi s'agir d'un toponyme. On peut également penser au mot $\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\pi$ "lien, corde" (cf. $\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\pi$, *P. Ber.* 18221).

9. $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon$. Faut-il y voir un nom propre ou bien une forme de $\kappa\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ ("le petit village")?

P. Oxyrhynchus 41

P. OXYRH. inv. 1841r

2 x 13,5 cm

VIII^e siècle

Plat. XVII

Le morceau de papyrus est de couleur beige. On y déchiffre les restes des mutilés d'un texte copte, sans doute une lettre.

Les cinq lignes d'écriture sont perpendiculaires aux fibres. Aucune marge n'est conservée. L'écriture est bilinéaire.

Le verso a été reutilisé pour un reçu de taxe redipé en grec (ed. ex. sous *P. Oxyrhynchus* 37).

1			
2		$\text{h}\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\pi\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon$	
3		$\text{h}\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon$	
4		$\text{h}\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon$	
5		$\text{h}\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon$	

"... mon fils, l'année dernière... à lui dans... une année... et qu'il..."

4. $\text{h}\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$. On peut penser à un optatif $\text{h}\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$.

5. $\text{h}\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon$. Il faut peut-être lire et interpréter cette séquence en $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \text{h}\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ "Makaré, l'archimandrite."

8 | [K10. H200.00] 310. | 1. | 10
| 1. | 1

- 1 la lettre – aujourd'hui j'ai l'air
- 2 . d'aujourd'hui plutôt ils sont venus à vous, vous les avez pris
- 3 le garder et à accorder la raison
- 4 . à lui venir, le renverrai l'homme
- 5 la vanité

1. **NOTES** Cette séquence est problématique. On pourrait y voir une forme de complément 100 pour 100, avec peut-être une forme du verbe « donner ».

2. **EXPLI** Il faut sans doute restituer H200.00 à K10.00. **EXPLI** 2. **PRO** 100. **PRO** 100. **PRO** 100. **PRO** 100.

3. **EXPLI** K10.00. H200.00. H200.00. Je comprends cette séquence comme K10.00. H200.00. H200.00. "qu'il y ait une raison pour toi", que la raison te soit accordée.

4. **EXPLI** 100. 100. 100. Plusieurs hypothèses de restitution sont envisageables : 100.00 "petit", 100.00 "seigneur", 100.00 "très", 100.00 "vieux". Cette dernière solution semble la plus probable en raison des traces conservées.

$$F_{\text{SSR}}(s, t) =$$

HILLING, VOS, LUTENS, SEGER, AND THOMASSEN BRIEFES

Hilary E. King

1. Kindly to 475

$$|X \cap X'| \leq |Y \cap Y'| + 1.$$

31 July

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

Vom mittelbraunen Papyrus guter Qualität sind der rechte, der linke und der untere Rand erhalten, der obere Rand fehlt. Der Papyrus ist beidseitig mit Kufenschrift beschriftet. Der Schriftträger weist einige Lehstellen mechanischer Art auf. Ein Riß verläuft in vertikaler Richtung durch das Fragment an dessen Randem. Abbrüche feststellbar sind. In der Mitte des Fragments sind entlang des rechten Blattendes zudem noch größere Lehstellen. Entlang und Behebung erfolgten mit Flaser Kiesel 1 Lösung in 50%iger Alkohol. Zur Suchung der gefälligen Teile wurden Kapappapierstreichen mit Flaser Kiesel 6 in 50%iger Alkohol angebracht.

Angemessen des erhaltenen Textes, dass man vermuten darf, ein oberer Rand muss zu viel fehlt. Die Bitte, gewürdigt zu werden, einer Mitteilung über Gesundheit und Wohlergehen des Empfängers des Briefes, findet sich meist nach einigen hofflichen und erfreulichen Zeilen. Hier ist diese Bitte in Zeile 5f belegt. Allerdings könnte man antworten, dass es trotz des trübsalreichen Charakters der ersten Zeilen fast sicher ist, dass in diesem Bereich bereits Text zu finden ist, der sonst zum eigentlichen Briefkörper gehört. Dies scheint darauf hinzuweisen, dass sich der Verfasser nicht statt an den Anfang, sondern in die Mitte gehalten hat, und macht eine Aussage über den verlorenen Textinhalt sehr schwierig.

- [illegible]

¹ Vortragsinhalte, die bei der Veranstaltung von Interesse sein könnten, sind in einer thematischen Kurzfassung im Internet (http://www.fakultät.fgwi.uni-wuppertal.de/~fakultät/lehre/lehre/lehre.htm) veröffentlicht. Der Vortrag gelangte im Rahmen des Projekts „Kultur, Sprache und Wissenschaft“ (KSP) an die Advanced Research und Lehrer-Lager der Universität Wuppertal. Außerdem wurde der Vortrag am 12. April 2006 im Rahmen der Poprassammlung der Universität Wuppertal (http://www.uni-wuppertal.de/~fakultät/lehre/lehre/lehre.htm) gehalten. Ein Protokollband ist bei der Homepage des Projekts <http://www.fakultät.fgwi.uni-wuppertal.de/~fakultät/lehre/lehre/lehre.htm> abrufbar. Die Veranstaltung wurde von der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Wuppertal unterstützt.

Für die Übersetzung des Textes verantwortlich: Dr. Rüdiger von der Pagenburg, Frau Andrea Kramm, welche die Übersetzung für Richard Schickel in die deutsche Sprache übertrug hat.

überflüssig. Vielmehr sei hierfür auf die Publikation von P.Vindob. K. 4730 verwiesen. Ferner muß die enge Nähe der beiden Texte innerhalb des Aufbewahrungsortes in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek erwähnt werden, beide gehörten zu den Texten, die in Wien dem sogenannten Schenutentextus zugeordnet wurden. Es handelt sich hierbei um die Objekte mit den Signaturen P.Vindob. K. 4701-4812. Bei diesen Texten handelt es sich um die Gieschichtsbücher eines gewissen Schenute, der vorwiegend mit Fragen der Verwaltung befaßt ist. Aufgrund des Inhaltes von P. *Clarke* 44 wird man wohl an, diesen Text (der war auch bei der Veröffentlichung von P.Vindob. K. 47) eingeschrieben ebenfalls zu dem Schenutentextus anschreiben müssen. Einerseits ist der Name des Verfassers, der dem Archiv seinen Namen gegeben hat und der ein wichtiges Kriterium für die Zusammenfassung der Texte war, in diesem Text nicht zu finden, andererseits ist der Verfasser der Texte hauptsächlich mit Fragen des religiösen Lebens beschäftigt und scheint selbst in einem monastischen Kontext zu leben. Insofern scheint es sinnvoll, auch P. *Clarke* 44 nicht mehr den "Schenute-Texten" zuzurechnen.

Bereits im Rahmen der Einleitung scheint es nötig auf eine Textergänzung hinzuweisen, die einen Subjektwechsel voraussetzt. In Z. 47 geht es darum, daß Gott dem Empfänger des Briefes Heilung schenken möge. In Z. 5 stellt sich nun die Frage, wie die Lücke zu ergänzen ist. Grundsätzlich ist es selbstverständlich nicht ausgeschlossen, daß an dieser Stelle wenigstens noch das Subjekt ist, daß also Gott selbst es möglichst macht, daß der Verfasser des Briefes von dem Gesundheitszustand des Empfängers erfährt. Im diesem Fall wäre ⲉⲓϥⲁⲛⲏⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ zu ergänzen. Gegen diese Ergänzungsmöglichkeit sprechen zwei Gründe. Als erstes scheint es nötig, aufgrund der bereits erwähnten Nähe zu P¹*Hermas*, S. 1 der Ergänzung mit ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲁⲙ den Vorzug zu geben, wird doch mit einer sehr ähnlichen Formulierung dort der Empfang eines Briefes bestätigt (vgl. Z. 5) $\text{ⲉⲃⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲩⲱⲩⲁ ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲗⲁ}$. Ausgehend von der Annahme, daß es sich bei beiden Briefen um denselben Schreiber handelt, scheint diese Ergänzung gerechtfertigt und dem Kontext angemessen. In diesem Falle wäre dann eine Möglichkeit das „Wandigen des Scheins“ dahingehend zu verstehen, daß der Empfänger dem Verfasser einen Besuch abstattet. Dies setzt zusätzlich voraus, daß der Verfasser des Briefes von seinem derzeitigen Ort unbekennetlich ist. Allerdings scheinen auch im koptischen Briefe teilweise als Ersatz einer persönlichen Begegnung aufgetaucht worden zu sein. Insoweit ist eine persönliche Begegnung trotz der Verwendung des koptischen Begriffs nur nicht zwingend vorausgesetzt.¹⁰ Im Falle einer Ergänzung mit ⲉⲓⲣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲁⲗⲁⲙ würde es aus theologischer Sicht als Gnade aufgefaßt, wenn die beiden sich treffen bzw. der Verfasser des Briefes von dem Empfänger eine Nachricht erhält. End hier ist die zweite Anwendung gegen diese Ergänzungsmöglichkeit vorzubringen. Auch wenn in damaliger Zeit nicht alle Briefe ihr Ziel erreichten, so scheint die Vorstellung doch selbst für die ägyptische Frömmigkeit übertrieben, daß es göttliche Gnade ist, wenn ein Brief seinen Sender erreicht. Hierfür sprechen auch die Entschuldigungsformeln unter gleichzeitiger Herbeisichtigung der Verlegenheitsformeln der koptischen Briefe. Diese zeigen doch

* Sachverständigenkommissionen: Wissenschaftliche Begutachtung von Wasserproben durch Expertenrat der Korrespondenz des Schmutzdatenbois

$$\|y\|_{\mathcal{H}} = \|g_{\mathcal{H}}(y)\|_{\mathcal{H}} = \|g_{\mathcal{H}}(g_{\mathcal{H}}^{-1}(y))\|_{\mathcal{H}} = \|y\|_{\mathcal{H}}.$$

* Insgesamt schenken wir eine unterschiedliche Hingabe unserer Aufmerksamkeit, wenn wir die klare Beziehung zu dem bestehenden Verfahren Schwachs befragen.

¹ *Verfahren zur Herstellung von Polymeren*, J. G. M. 1989, 1089.

sehr deutlich, daß es menschliche Schwäche bzw. das Fehlen von Schreibmaterial ist – und daß hierfür eine Entschuldigung gebeten wird, schreibt *hoheho* *hoheho* „aus – wenn ein Brief nicht geschrieben wird“ – und dies ist somit nach den typischen Wendungen in den koptischen Briefen auch der Hauptgrund dafür, daß man keine Nachrichten von der betreffenden Person erhält, nicht jedoch der fehlende göttliche Segen bei der Beförderung der Post. Diese Überlegungen zwingen bei der Ergänzung zum Wechsel der Person

1. Schritt: C. 81 N 8 v. 11

Das Schriftbild ist regelmäßig und ordentlich. Es sieht aus, wie ein geübter Schreiber geschrieben. Der von ihm verfaßte Text ragt sprachlich weit über den Durchschnitt der dokumentarischen Texte hinaus. Viele koptische Briefe zeichnen sich durch einfache und kurze Sätze aus, häufig finden sich Verschreibungen und andere Fehler, direkte Einflüsse und oftmals Zeilen, davon, daß diese Briefe von Menschen in allzu häufigen Lebenssituationen verfaßt wurden. Von derartigen Texten unterscheidet sich *Petruskanon* 44. Ein gebildeter Mann, der offensichtlich auch in der Theologie nicht nur oberflächlich bewandert ist, und die theologische Ausbildung von damals ja auch für geistliche Anwärter nicht nur vom Studium, sondern von allem mit einem Schinkenbrot und dem Auswendiglernen einzelner biblischer Bücher verbunden ist, schreibt ein gelobtes Schicksal. Auffällig ist zum Beispiel eine Formulierung in Zeile 4, die eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit zu Formulierungen in Rechtsurkunden aus späterer Zeit aufweist. In diesem Zusammenhang ist festzuhalten, daß eigentlich der bestimmte Artikel vor *kyrron* in dieser Zeile zu erwarten wäre. Hier für Zeile 5 verschlossene kausale Konjunktion statt ebenso wie die Forderung eines Konditionals durch *kyrron* nach *kyrron* statt in Briefen an einer vergleichbaren Stelle angeschlossen werden, doch sowohl das energetische Futur in Zeile 4 wie auch der Relativsatz des Perfekts vgl. Zeile 10 v. 12) und die Verwendung des kausalen Infinitivs einer Zeile sehr zu sehen, was überdurchschnittliche Beherrschung der koptischen Sprache und wohl weiterer geübter mit der Bildung des Verfassers.

Interessant ist die Formulierung der Zeilen 10. Der *kyrron* „in“¹ handelt es sich um den Hauptkern eines Nominalsatzes. Es scheint nun, daß der Schreiber einen Relativsatz als erweitertes

¹ Vgl. auch die von H. Gressmann (Zurige 1907) erhaltenen Varianten *kyrron kyrron* v. 10 v. 11 v. 12 v. 13. Und wie dem nicht verwunderlich ist, daß *kyrron* v. 10 v. 11 v. 12 v. 13 v. 14 v. 15 v. 16 v. 17 v. 18 v. 19 v. 20 v. 21 v. 22 v. 23 v. 24 v. 25 v. 26 v. 27 v. 28 v. 29 v. 30 v. 31 v. 32 v. 33 v. 34 v. 35 v. 36 v. 37 v. 38 v. 39 v. 40 v. 41 v. 42 v. 43 v. 44 v. 45 v. 46 v. 47 v. 48 v. 49 v. 50 v. 51 v. 52 v. 53 v. 54 v. 55 v. 56 v. 57 v. 58 v. 59 v. 60 v. 61 v. 62 v. 63 v. 64 v. 65 v. 66 v. 67 v. 68 v. 69 v. 70 v. 71 v. 72 v. 73 v. 74 v. 75 v. 76 v. 77 v. 78 v. 79 v. 80 v. 81 v. 82 v. 83 v. 84 v. 85 v. 86 v. 87 v. 88 v. 89 v. 90 v. 91 v. 92 v. 93 v. 94 v. 95 v. 96 v. 97 v. 98 v. 99 v. 100 v. 101 v. 102 v. 103 v. 104 v. 105 v. 106 v. 107 v. 108 v. 109 v. 110 v. 111 v. 112 v. 113 v. 114 v. 115 v. 116 v. 117 v. 118 v. 119 v. 120 v. 121 v. 122 v. 123 v. 124 v. 125 v. 126 v. 127 v. 128 v. 129 v. 130 v. 131 v. 132 v. 133 v. 134 v. 135 v. 136 v. 137 v. 138 v. 139 v. 140 v. 141 v. 142 v. 143 v. 144 v. 145 v. 146 v. 147 v. 148 v. 149 v. 150 v. 151 v. 152 v. 153 v. 154 v. 155 v. 156 v. 157 v. 158 v. 159 v. 160 v. 161 v. 162 v. 163 v. 164 v. 165 v. 166 v. 167 v. 168 v. 169 v. 170 v. 171 v. 172 v. 173 v. 174 v. 175 v. 176 v. 177 v. 178 v. 179 v. 180 v. 181 v. 182 v. 183 v. 184 v. 185 v. 186 v. 187 v. 188 v. 189 v. 190 v. 191 v. 192 v. 193 v. 194 v. 195 v. 196 v. 197 v. 198 v. 199 v. 200 v. 201 v. 202 v. 203 v. 204 v. 205 v. 206 v. 207 v. 208 v. 209 v. 210 v. 211 v. 212 v. 213 v. 214 v. 215 v. 216 v. 217 v. 218 v. 219 v. 220 v. 221 v. 222 v. 223 v. 224 v. 225 v. 226 v. 227 v. 228 v. 229 v. 230 v. 231 v. 232 v. 233 v. 234 v. 235 v. 236 v. 237 v. 238 v. 239 v. 240 v. 241 v. 242 v. 243 v. 244 v. 245 v. 246 v. 247 v. 248 v. 249 v. 250 v. 251 v. 252 v. 253 v. 254 v. 255 v. 256 v. 257 v. 258 v. 259 v. 260 v. 261 v. 262 v. 263 v. 264 v. 265 v. 266 v. 267 v. 268 v. 269 v. 270 v. 271 v. 272 v. 273 v. 274 v. 275 v. 276 v. 277 v. 278 v. 279 v. 280 v. 281 v. 282 v. 283 v. 284 v. 285 v. 286 v. 287 v. 288 v. 289 v. 290 v. 291 v. 292 v. 293 v. 294 v. 295 v. 296 v. 297 v. 298 v. 299 v. 300 v. 301 v. 302 v. 303 v. 304 v. 305 v. 306 v. 307 v. 308 v. 309 v. 310 v. 311 v. 312 v. 313 v. 314 v. 315 v. 316 v. 317 v. 318 v. 319 v. 320 v. 321 v. 322 v. 323 v. 324 v. 325 v. 326 v. 327 v. 328 v. 329 v. 330 v. 331 v. 332 v. 333 v. 334 v. 335 v. 336 v. 337 v. 338 v. 339 v. 340 v. 341 v. 342 v. 343 v. 344 v. 345 v. 346 v. 347 v. 348 v. 349 v. 350 v. 351 v. 352 v. 353 v. 354 v. 355 v. 356 v. 357 v. 358 v. 359 v. 360 v. 361 v. 362 v. 363 v. 364 v. 365 v. 366 v. 367 v. 368 v. 369 v. 370 v. 371 v. 372 v. 373 v. 374 v. 375 v. 376 v. 377 v. 378 v. 379 v. 380 v. 381 v. 382 v. 383 v. 384 v. 385 v. 386 v. 387 v. 388 v. 389 v. 390 v. 391 v. 392 v. 393 v. 394 v. 395 v. 396 v. 397 v. 398 v. 399 v. 400 v. 401 v. 402 v. 403 v. 404 v. 405 v. 406 v. 407 v. 408 v. 409 v. 410 v. 411 v. 412 v. 413 v. 414 v. 415 v. 416 v. 417 v. 418 v. 419 v. 420 v. 421 v. 422 v. 423 v. 424 v. 425 v. 426 v. 427 v. 428 v. 429 v. 430 v. 431 v. 432 v. 433 v. 434 v. 435 v. 436 v. 437 v. 438 v. 439 v. 440 v. 441 v. 442 v. 443 v. 444 v. 445 v. 446 v. 447 v. 448 v. 449 v. 450 v. 451 v. 452 v. 453 v. 454 v. 455 v. 456 v. 457 v. 458 v. 459 v. 460 v. 461 v. 462 v. 463 v. 464 v. 465 v. 466 v. 467 v. 468 v. 469 v. 470 v. 471 v. 472 v. 473 v. 474 v. 475 v. 476 v. 477 v. 478 v. 479 v. 480 v. 481 v. 482 v. 483 v. 484 v. 485 v. 486 v. 487 v. 488 v. 489 v. 490 v. 491 v. 492 v. 493 v. 494 v. 495 v. 496 v. 497 v. 498 v. 499 v. 500 v. 501 v. 502 v. 503 v. 504 v. 505 v. 506 v. 507 v. 508 v. 509 v. 510 v. 511 v. 512 v. 513 v. 514 v. 515 v. 516 v. 517 v. 518 v. 519 v. 520 v. 521 v. 522 v. 523 v. 524 v. 525 v. 526 v. 527 v. 528 v. 529 v. 530 v. 531 v. 532 v. 533 v. 534 v. 535 v. 536 v. 537 v. 538 v. 539 v. 540 v. 541 v. 542 v. 543 v. 544 v. 545 v. 546 v. 547 v. 548 v. 549 v. 550 v. 551 v. 552 v. 553 v. 554 v. 555 v. 556 v. 557 v. 558 v. 559 v. 560 v. 561 v. 562 v. 563 v. 564 v. 565 v. 566 v. 567 v. 568 v. 569 v. 570 v. 571 v. 572 v. 573 v. 574 v. 575 v. 576 v. 577 v. 578 v. 579 v. 580 v. 581 v. 582 v. 583 v. 584 v. 585 v. 586 v. 587 v. 588 v. 589 v. 590 v. 591 v. 592 v. 593 v. 594 v. 595 v. 596 v. 597 v. 598 v. 599 v. 600 v. 601 v. 602 v. 603 v. 604 v. 605 v. 606 v. 607 v. 608 v. 609 v. 610 v. 611 v. 612 v. 613 v. 614 v. 615 v. 616 v. 617 v. 618 v. 619 v. 620 v. 621 v. 622 v. 623 v. 624 v. 625 v. 626 v. 627 v. 628 v. 629 v. 630 v. 631 v. 632 v. 633 v. 634 v. 635 v. 636 v. 637 v. 638 v. 639 v. 640 v. 641 v. 642 v. 643 v. 644 v. 645 v. 646 v. 647 v. 648 v. 649 v. 650 v. 651 v. 652 v. 653 v. 654 v. 655 v. 656 v. 657 v. 658 v. 659 v. 660 v. 661 v. 662 v. 663 v. 664 v. 665 v. 666 v. 667 v. 668 v. 669 v. 670 v. 671 v. 672 v. 673 v. 674 v. 675 v. 676 v. 677 v. 678 v. 679 v. 680 v. 681 v. 682 v. 683 v. 684 v. 685 v. 686 v. 687 v. 688 v. 689 v. 690 v. 691 v. 692 v. 693 v. 694 v. 695 v. 696 v. 697 v. 698 v. 699 v. 700 v. 701 v. 702 v. 703 v. 704 v. 705 v. 706 v. 707 v. 708 v. 709 v. 710 v. 711 v. 712 v. 713 v. 714 v. 715 v. 716 v. 717 v. 718 v. 719 v. 720 v. 721 v. 722 v. 723 v. 724 v. 725 v. 726 v. 727 v. 728 v. 729 v. 730 v. 731 v. 732 v. 733 v. 734 v. 735 v. 736 v. 737 v. 738 v. 739 v. 740 v. 741 v. 742 v. 743 v. 744 v. 745 v. 746 v. 747 v. 748 v. 749 v. 750 v. 751 v. 752 v. 753 v. 754 v. 755 v. 756 v. 757 v. 758 v. 759 v. 760 v. 761 v. 762 v. 763 v. 764 v. 765 v. 766 v. 767 v. 768 v. 769 v. 770 v. 771 v. 772 v. 773 v. 774 v. 775 v. 776 v. 777 v. 778 v. 779 v. 780 v. 781 v. 782 v. 783 v. 784 v. 785 v. 786 v. 787 v. 788 v. 789 v. 790 v. 791 v. 792 v. 793 v. 794 v. 795 v. 796 v. 797 v. 798 v. 799 v. 800 v. 801 v. 802 v. 803 v. 804 v. 805 v. 806 v. 807 v. 808 v. 809 v. 810 v. 811 v. 812 v. 813 v. 814 v. 815 v. 816 v. 817 v. 818 v. 819 v. 820 v. 821 v. 822 v. 823 v. 824 v. 825 v. 826 v. 827 v. 828 v. 829 v. 830 v. 831 v. 832 v. 833 v. 834 v. 835 v. 836 v. 837 v. 838 v. 839 v. 840 v. 841 v. 842 v. 843 v. 844 v. 845 v. 846 v. 847 v. 848 v. 849 v. 850 v. 851 v. 852 v. 853 v. 854 v. 855 v. 856 v. 857 v. 858 v. 859 v. 860 v. 861 v. 862 v. 863 v. 864 v. 865 v. 866 v. 867 v. 868 v. 869 v. 870 v. 871 v. 872 v. 873 v. 874 v. 875 v. 876 v. 877 v. 878 v. 879 v. 880 v. 881 v. 882 v. 883 v. 884 v. 885 v. 886 v. 887 v. 888 v. 889 v. 890 v. 891 v. 892 v. 893 v. 894 v. 895 v. 896 v. 897 v. 898 v. 899 v. 900 v. 901 v. 902 v. 903 v. 904 v. 905 v. 906 v. 907 v. 908 v. 909 v. 910 v. 911 v. 912 v. 913 v. 914 v. 915 v. 916 v. 917 v. 918 v. 919 v. 920 v. 921 v. 922 v. 923 v. 924 v. 925 v. 926 v. 927 v. 928 v. 929 v. 930 v. 931 v. 932 v. 933 v. 934 v. 935 v. 936 v. 937 v. 938 v. 939 v. 940 v. 941 v. 942 v. 943 v. 944 v. 945 v. 946 v. 947 v. 948 v. 949 v. 950 v. 951 v. 952 v. 953 v. 954 v. 955 v. 956 v. 957 v. 958 v. 959 v. 960 v. 961 v. 962 v. 963 v. 964 v. 965 v. 966 v. 967 v. 968 v. 969 v. 970 v. 971 v. 972 v. 973 v. 974 v. 975 v. 976 v. 977 v. 978 v. 979 v. 980 v. 981 v. 982 v. 983 v. 984 v. 985 v. 986 v. 987 v. 988 v. 989 v. 990 v. 991 v. 992 v. 993 v. 994 v. 995 v. 996 v. 997 v. 998 v. 999 v. 1000 v. 1001 v. 1002 v. 1003 v. 1004 v. 1005 v. 1006 v. 1007 v. 1008 v. 1009 v. 1010 v. 1011 v. 1012 v. 1013 v. 1014 v. 1015 v. 1016 v. 1017 v. 1018 v. 1019 v. 1020 v. 1021 v. 1022 v. 1023 v. 1024 v. 1025 v. 1026 v. 1027 v. 1028 v. 1029 v. 1030 v. 1031 v. 1032 v. 1033 v. 1034 v. 1035 v. 1036 v. 1037 v. 1038 v. 1039 v. 1040 v. 1041 v. 1042 v. 1043 v. 1044 v. 1045 v. 1046 v. 1047 v. 1048 v. 1049 v. 1050 v. 1051 v. 1052 v. 1053 v. 1054 v. 1055 v. 1056 v. 1057 v. 1058 v. 1059 v. 1060 v. 1061 v. 1062 v. 1063 v. 1064 v. 1065 v. 1066 v. 1067 v. 1068 v. 1069 v. 1070 v. 1071 v. 1072 v. 1073 v. 1074 v. 1075 v. 1076 v. 1077 v. 1078 v. 1079 v. 1080 v. 1081 v. 1082 v. 1083 v. 1084 v. 1085 v. 1086 v. 1087 v. 1088 v. 1089 v. 1090 v. 1091 v. 1092 v. 1093 v. 1094 v. 1095 v. 1096 v. 1097 v. 1098 v. 1099 v. 1100 v. 1101 v. 1102 v. 1103 v. 1104 v. 1105 v. 1106 v. 1107 v. 1108 v. 1109 v. 1110 v. 1111 v. 1112 v. 1113 v. 1114 v. 1115 v. 1116 v. 1117 v. 1118 v. 1119 v. 1120 v. 1121 v. 1122 v. 1123 v. 1124 v. 1125 v. 1126 v. 1127 v. 1128 v. 1129 v. 1130 v. 1131 v. 1132 v. 1133 v. 1134 v. 1135 v. 1136 v. 1137 v. 1138 v. 1139 v. 1140 v. 1141 v. 1142 v. 1143 v. 1144 v. 1145 v. 1146 v. 1147 v. 1148 v. 1149 v. 1150 v. 1151 v. 1152 v. 1153 v. 1154 v. 1155 v. 1156 v. 1157 v. 1158 v. 1159 v. 1160 v. 1161 v. 1162 v. 1163 v. 1164 v. 1165 v. 1166 v. 1167 v. 1168 v. 1169 v. 1170 v. 1171 v. 1172 v. 1173 v. 1174 v. 1175 v. 1176 v. 1177 v. 1178 v. 1179 v. 1180 v. 1181 v. 1182 v. 1183 v. 1184 v. 1185 v. 1186 v. 1187 v. 1188 v. 1189 v. 1190 v. 1191 v. 1192 v. 1193 v. 1194 v. 1195 v. 1196 v. 1197 v. 1198 v. 1199 v. 1200 v. 1201 v. 1202 v. 1203 v. 1204 v. 1205 v. 1206 v. 1207 v. 1208 v. 1209 v. 1210 v. 1211 v. 1212 v. 1213 v. 1214 v. 1215 v. 1216 v. 1217 v. 1218 v. 1219 v. 1220 v. 1221 v. 1222 v. 1223 v. 1224 v. 1225 v. 1226 v. 1227 v. 1228 v. 1229 v. 1230 v. 1231 v. 1232 v. 1233 v. 1234 v. 1235 v. 1236 v. 1237 v. 1238 v. 1239 v. 1240 v. 1241 v. 1242 v. 1243 v. 1244 v. 1245 v. 1246 v. 1247 v. 1248 v. 1249 v. 1250 v. 1251 v. 1252 v. 1253 v. 1254 v. 1255 v. 1256 v. 1257 v. 1258 v. 1259 v. 1260 v. 1261 v. 1262 v. 1263 v. 1264 v. 1265 v. 1266 v. 1267 v. 1268 v. 1269 v. 1270 v. 1271 v. 1272 v. 1273 v. 1274 v. 1275 v. 1276 v. 1277 v. 1278 v. 1279 v. 1280 v. 1281 v. 1282 v. 1283 v. 1284 v. 1285 v. 1286 v. 1287 v. 1288 v. 1289 v. 1290 v. 1291 v. 1292 v. 1293 v. 1294 v. 1295 v. 1296 v. 1297 v. 1298 v. 1299 v. 1300 v. 1301 v. 1302 v. 1303 v. 1304 v. 1305 v. 1306 v. 1307 v. 1308 v. 1309 v. 1310 v. 1311 v. 1312 v. 1313 v. 1314 v. 1315 v. 1316 v. 1317 v. 1318 v. 1319 v. 1320 v. 1321 v. 1322 v. 1323 v. 1324 v. 1325 v. 1326 v. 1327 v. 1328 v. 1329 v. 1330 v. 1331 v. 1332 v. 1333 v. 1334 v. 1335 v. 1336 v. 1337 v. 1338 v. 1339 v. 1340 v. 1341 v. 1342 v. 1343 v. 1344 v. 1345 v. 1346 v. 1347 v. 1348 v. 1349 v. 1350 v. 1351 v. 1352 v. 1353 v. 1354 v. 1355 v. 1356 v. 1357 v. 1358 v. 1359 v. 1360 v. 1361 v. 1362 v. 1363 v. 1364 v. 1365 v. 1366 v. 1367 v. 1368 v. 1369 v. 1370 v. 1371 v. 1372 v. 1373 v. 1374 v. 1375 v. 1376 v. 1377 v. 1378 v. 1379 v. 1380 v. 1381 v. 1382 v. 1383 v. 1384 v. 1385 v. 1386 v. 1387 v. 1388 v. 1389 v. 1390 v. 1391 v. 1392 v. 1393 v. 1394 v. 1395 v. 1396 v. 1397 v. 1398 v. 1399 v. 1400 v. 1401 v. 1402 v. 1403 v. 1404 v. 1405 v. 1406 v. 1407 v. 1408 v. 1409 v. 1410 v. 1411 v. 1412 v. 1413 v. 1414 v. 1415 v. 1416 v. 1417 v. 1418 v. 1419 v. 1420 v. 1421 v. 1422 v. 1423 v. 1424 v. 1425 v. 1426 v. 1427 v. 1428 v. 1429 v. 1430 v. 1431 v. 1432 v. 1433 v. 1434 v. 1435 v. 1436 v. 1437 v. 1438 v. 1439 v. 1440 v. 1441 v. 1442 v. 1443 v. 1444 v. 1445 v. 1446 v. 1447 v. 1448 v. 1449 v. 1450 v. 1451 v. 1452 v. 1453 v. 1454 v. 1455 v. 1456 v. 1457 v. 1458 v. 1459 v. 1460 v. 1461 v. 1462 v. 1463 v. 1464 v. 1465 v. 1466 v. 1467 v. 1468 v. 1469 v. 1470 v. 1471 v. 1472 v. 1473 v. 1474 v. 1475 v. 1476 v. 1477 v. 1478 v. 1479 v. 1480 v. 1481 v. 1482 v. 1483 v. 1484 v. 1485 v. 1486 v. 1487 v. 1488 v. 1489 v. 1490 v. 1491 v. 1492 v. 1493 v. 1494 v. 1495 v. 1496 v. 1497 v. 1498 v. 1499 v. 1500 v. 1501 v. 1502 v. 1503 v. 1504 v. 1505 v. 1506 v. 1507 v. 1508 v. 1509 v. 1510 v. 1511 v. 1512 v. 1513 v. 1514 v. 1515 v. 1516 v. 1517 v. 1518 v. 1519 v. 1520 v. 1521 v. 1522 v. 1523 v. 1524 v. 1525 v. 1526 v. 1527 v. 1528 v. 1529 v. 1530 v. 1531 v. 1532 v. 1533 v. 1534 v. 1535 v. 1536 v. 1537 v. 1538 v. 1539 v. 1540 v. 1541 v. 1542 v. 1543 v. 1544 v. 1545 v. 1546 v. 1547 v. 1548 v. 1549 v. 1550 v. 1551 v. 1552 v. 1553 v. 1554 v. 1555 v. 1556 v. 1557 v. 1558 v. 1559 v. 1560 v. 1561 v. 1562 v. 1563 v. 1564 v. 1565 v. 1566 v. 1567 v. 1568 v. 1569 v. 1570 v. 1571 v. 1572 v. 1573 v. 1574 v. 1575 v. 1576 v. 1577 v. 1578 v. 1579 v. 1580 v. 1581 v. 1582 v. 1583 v. 1584 v. 1585 v. 1586 v. 1587 v. 1588 v. 1589 v. 1590 v. 1591 v. 1592 v. 1593 v. 1594 v. 1595 v. 1596 v. 1597 v. 1598 v. 1599 v. 1600 v. 1601 v. 1602 v. 1603 v. 1604 v. 1605 v. 1606 v. 1607 v. 1608 v. 1609 v. 1610 v. 1611 v. 1612 v. 1613 v. 1614 v. 1615 v. 1616 v. 1617 v. 1618 v. 1619 v. 1620 v. 1621 v. 1622 v. 1623 v. 1624 v. 1625 v. 1626 v. 1627 v. 1628 v. 1629 v. 1630 v. 1631 v. 1632 v. 1633 v. 1634 v. 1635 v. 1636 v. 1637 v. 1638 v. 1639 v. 1640 v. 1641 v. 1642 v. 1643 v. 1644 v. 1645 v. 1646 v. 1647 v. 1648 v. 1649 v. 1650 v. 1651 v. 1652 v. 1653 v. 1654 v. 1655 v. 1656 v. 1657 v. 1658 v. 1659 v. 1660 v. 1661 v. 1662 v. 1663 v. 1664 v. 1665 v. 1666 v. 1667 v. 1668 v. 1669 v. 1670 v. 1671 v. 1672 v. 1673 v. 1674 v. 1675 v. 1676 v. 1677 v. 1678 v. 1679 v. 1680 v. 1681 v. 1682 v. 1683 v. 1684 v. 1685 v. 1686 v. 1687 v. 1688 v. 1689 v. 1690 v. 1691 v. 1692 v. 1693 v. 1694 v. 1695 v. 1696 v. 1697 v. 1698 v. 1699 v. 1700 v. 1701 v. 1702 v. 1703 v. 1704 v. 1705 v. 1706 v. 1707 v. 1708 v. 1709 v. 1710 v. 1711 v. 1712 v. 1713 v. 1714 v. 1715 v. 1716 v. 1717 v. 1718 v. 1719 v. 1720 v. 1721 v. 1722 v. 1723 v. 1724 v. 1725 v. 1726 v. 1727 v. 1728 v. 1729 v. 1730 v. 1731 v. 1732 v. 1733 v. 1734 v. 1735 v. 1736 v. 1737 v. 1738 v. 1739 v. 1740 v. 1741 v. 1742 v. 1743 v. 1744 v. 1745 v. 1746 v. 1747 v. 1748 v. 1749 v. 1750 v. 1751 v. 1752 v. 1753 v. 1754 v. 1755 v. 1756 v. 1757 v. 1758 v. 1759 v. 1760 v. 1761 v. 1762 v. 1763 v. 1764 v. 1765 v. 1766 v. 1767 v. 1768 v. 1769 v. 1770 v. 1771 v. 1772 v. 1773 v. 1774 v. 1775 v. 1776 v. 1777 v. 1778 v. 1779 v. 1780 v. 1781 v. 1782 v. 1783 v. 1784 v. 1785 v. 1786 v. 1787 v. 1788 v. 1789 v. 1790 v. 1791 v. 1792 v. 1793 v. 1794 v. 1795 v. 1796 v. 1797 v. 1

Subjekt dieses Nominalsatzes konstruieren.¹⁷ Man wird als Verbum des Relativsatzes, das aufgrund der Lückung des Papyrus nur teilweise erhalten ist, $\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ bzw. $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ mit nachfolgendem Personalsuffix der 3. Person $\tau\epsilon$ annehmen dürfen ($\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$), scheint aufgrund der erhaltenen Buchstabenreste am wahrscheinlichsten, die sich wie auch schon $\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ in dieser Zeile auf $\eta\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ bezieht. Der Sinn der Konstruktion ist offenkundig. Im vorangehenden Satz betonte der Verfasser, daß er nicht in der Lage sei, den Ueberbringer der Gabe zu entschädigen. Dann findet offensichtlich ein Subjektwechsel statt. Der, dem der Empfänger des Briefes die Gabe gegeben hat, ist in der Lage, ihn zu belohnen. Diese Aussage nach dem vorangehenden Text läßt nun einen Schluß zu. Die frumme Gabe, die dem Kloster übergeben wurde, wird in den folgenden Zusammenhang gestellt, nicht das Kloster, sondern Gott ist letztlich der Empfänger dieser Gabe; die Klosterinsassen haben nur stellvertretend für diesen die Gabe angenommen.

2. BRÜDER, SCHWÄGER UND VATER

Für diese Vermutung, daß P. Oxy. 44 nicht von dem Verwalter Scheinme verfaßt ist bzw. daß dieser Brief nicht mit seiner Tätigkeit in Verbindung gebracht werden kann, spricht neben den vorwiegend praktischen Fragen des religiösen Lebens, die diesen Brief auszeichnen, auch die in Zeile 24 zu findende Erwähnung der "Brüder", die den Verfasser nach Abschluß des eigentlichen Briefes mit der Bitte beauftragt hatten, um die Sendung von Ewigkeit dieser Vorfälle sich anzusehen. Bei diesen Brüdern dürfte es sich nicht um leibliche Brüder, bzw. würde man statt $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\alpha\iota$ wohl eher eine Formulierung erwarten, in der das persönliche Possessivpronomen das Verhältnis zu den Brüdern ausdrückt ($\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$ "meine Brüder"), sondern um die Mitglieder einer religiösen Gemeinschaft handeln.¹⁸ Handschrift, Aufbewahrungsort und Inhalt legen es nahe, daß es sich bei dem Verfasser dieses Briefes um den "niedrigsten Apostel" handeln dürfte, der auch den bereits erwähnten Brief geschrieben hat. Die Erwähnung der Brüder, die offensichtlich mit ihm in einer Gemeinschaft leben, macht es wahrscheinlich, daß der Verfasser des Briefes in einem Kloster lebte. Die offensichtliche Führungsposition, die er innehat, er kann sich die Zensur von verschiedenen Briefen ohne gleich erwähnen zu müssen, daß man ihren gerechten Preis zahlen wird, scheint darauf hinzuweisen, daß es sich bei dem Verfasser um einen Klostervorstand handeln dürfte, daß also der geistliche Vater der

¹⁷ Im Relativsatz kann grundsätzlich ein Subjekt eines Satzes eingeschoben werden, vgl. Egger, Planch 1996: 36, daß als Subjekt eines Verbalatzes einer der hier vorliegenden Substantivsätze $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ohne Wendung finden (vgl. Mk. 14:44 im Text) ($\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$ nach $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ und $\tau\epsilon$ nach $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ vgl. Egger 1996: 37).

¹⁸ Siehe zu dieser Problematik auch Williams 1997: 54. "The language of family relationships found in the Coptic tradition of the New Testament (Greek, Syriac, and Latin) and in the New Testament Papyri were used to identify members of the same membership relationship prior to the development of a terminology of relationships prior to the identification of the family position (respectful, semi-respectful, addressed, or mutual) as well as the relationship (brother and sister, equals as siblings) and do not necessarily reflect actual family relationships. With the latter evidence it is impossible to concern ourselves with the nature of either the religious community or the religious relationships, religious relationships, in brief." Siehe hierzu auch Egger 1996: 36. "In the Coptic language, as in many other languages, the relationship word and many are addressed to others, and in some, mentioned in the greeting. It is not necessary, as the Coptic used these terms not only for siblings but also for their spouses, and for the extent of more distant relatives, for instance, to give as well."

Brüder diesen Brief schreibt.¹ Hierfür spricht auch die in seiner Sprache zum Ausdruck kommende hohe Bildung. Die bei der Veröffentlichung von P. Vindob. K. 4^o 301 (= *P. Harraner 5*)² zur Erwägung gezielte Möglichkeit, daß der Verfasser ein Bischof sein könnte, scheint durch die aus P. Ch. 500 44 zu gewinnende zusätzliche Information über diese Person weiterhin nicht ausgeschlossen.³

Der Absender bezeichnet eine gewisse Kyrakale als seine Tochter (vgl. Z. 15). Zwei mögliche Interpretationen legen sich nahe, es kann sich entweder um ein geistliches Verhältnis zwischen ihm und dieser Frau handeln – in ähnlicher Weise bezeichnen christliche – auch junge Kleriker als ihre Söhne⁴ – und Leiterinnen von Frauengemeinschaften die ihnen untergebenen Nonnen als Kinder.⁵ Dann wäre "die Frau, dem ebenfalls Segen vom Briefschreiber zugebracht ist – als Kloster zu interpretieren."⁶ Die andere Möglichkeit wäre, daß es sich um die leibliche Tochter handelt. Hierfür würde sprechen, daß der Verfasser des Briefes diese Frau als seine "geliebte Tochter" bezeichnet, daß er also ein besonderes persönliches Nahverhältnis zum Ausdruck bringt. Daß eine Person nach einem ehelichen Leben, dem Kinder entspringen und in ein Kloster eintreten und durch dokumentarische Texte belegt.⁷ Insofern scheint es naheliegender, ein physisches und nicht nur ein geistliches Verwandtschaftsverhältnis aus der Erwähnung der "geliebten Tochter" abzuleiten, da sonst die Bezeichnung wohl beim Empfänger des Briefes Anstoß erregt hätte. Dies wird dadurch bestätigt, daß besagte Kyrakale selbst Sohne hat.⁸ In diesem Zusammenhang muß auch auf die strikte Trennung

¹ Zu Verwendung des Griechischgriechenmischsprachen, *Kontakien* (griech. Kontakien), vgl. Hoff 1978, 297.

² Wenn schon von 1471, da die Vorlage des Manuskripts, auf dem es abgeschrieben ist, als 1471 bezeichnet wird, ist es aber als etwas bereits früher verfaßt anzusehen. Für die Datierung des Textes vgl. Hoff 1978, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

³ Vgl. Hoff 1978, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁴ Zitiert nach Hoff 1978, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁵ Zitiert nach Hoff 1978, 297, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480,

Interessant ist, daß in dem Zusammenhang von Heilung und Gesundheit das griechische Adjektiv *ἰσχυρῶς* Verwendung findet, das in koptischen Texten nur selten belegt ist. Eigentlich scheint dieser Begriff vor allem die handwerkliche Fähigkeit einer Person, die für eine bestimmte Tätigkeit geeignet ist, zu beschreiben. An dieser Stelle des Briefes scheint jedoch Gott gemeint zu sein, der dem Empfänger des Briefes Heil und Segen zu schenken vermag.

Auch das "bäusche Eßsig" (das am Ende des Briefes (vgl. Zeile 27) erwähnt wird und das im Gegenzug an den Verfasser des Briefes geschickt werden soll, falls es vorhanden ist, kann in Zusammenhang mit dem Themenkomplex von Krankheit und Heilung gesehen werden, der den Brief prägt. Eßsig war in der Antike meist als Weinzugabe vorzufinden, er entsteht durch Gärung alkoholischer Flüssigkeiten. Der ägyptische Eßsig wurde dabei von den Griechen und Römern sehr geschätzt. Eßsig wurde als Zusatz zu Getränken und sogar zu Wein verwendet. In der Bezeichnung *ὀξύς* *σοῦτος* und *ὀξύς* *σιμπίπης* ist ein derartiges Mischgetränk aus Wasser und Eßsig im Griechischen belegt, die dem Lateinischen *causum* entspricht. Bezeichnung *causum* ist in koptischen Texten zu finden und zeigt, daß dieser Getränk offensichtlich auch in Ägypten verwendet wurde. Teilweise wird dieses Mischgetränk auch einfach als "Eßsig" bezeichnet.¹ Die gleiche Bezeichnung kann auch für schlechten, der dann eben sauren Wein gebraucht werden. Neben der Verwendung als Würzmittel von Speisen und als Konservierungsmittel, Eßsig kann Lausis verhindern, wurde Eßsig auch als Reinigungsmittel verwendet. Auch in der Heilkunst spielt der Eßsig eine vielfältige Rolle, so bei Augenleiden, Magen- und Darmkrankungen, auch bei Viren, Prellungen und zur Stillung von Blutungen wurde Eßsig verwendet. Diese in diesem Brief angeforderte kleine Menge scheint eher auf eine geplante medizinische Verwendung schließen zu lassen als auf eine der vielen anderen Verwendungsmöglichkeiten dieser ätherten, den Menschen zugereichten Saure.

Selbstverständlich ist hierbei jedoch eine Frage aufgrund der hochst ungenauen Mengenangaben für den Eßsig nicht mehr zu lösen: Was verstand ein Kirchenmann dieser Zeit unter "wenig" bei Mengenangaben? Bekannt ist, daß teilweise erstaunlich große Mengen von Getreide durch kirchliche Hände flossen. So berichtet der bisher unveröffentlichte koptische Papyrus mit der Inventarnummer 98 aus der Papyrussammlung in Heidelberg von einer Ernte von 1000 Araben Weizen, die zu Brot verbäcken werden sollen. Daß bereits 5 Araben Weizen (oder besser gesagt vier Säcke, auch wenn erwähnt werden muß, daß nicht in allen Fällen ein Sack zwei Araben entspricht) der Kopfsteuer

¹ Vgl. Colas (1981: 60).

² Vgl. hierzu Linder (2002: 133) sowie das Wort in zwei koptischen Texten belegt, und zwar als *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ* als "Händler von Erbsen" betrachtet.

³ Vgl. Preiszke (1977: 102).

⁴ Zur Verwendung des Eßsigs vgl. eine 1964 publizierte Studie von J. L. Fournier (1967: 127), auch Fournier (1961: 34, 55), der dort die verschiedenen in koptischen Texten bezeugten Verwendungen von Eßsig mit den in koptischen Schriftwerken zu findenden Eßsig und -scharfen Namen Eßsig unterschieden, z. B. *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ* (Eßsig) und *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ* (Eßsig) (Eßsig) (Eßsig).

⁵ Die Verabreichung von 1 Bushel (10 kg) Kopfsteuer wird in anderen Texten des vorliegenden Heftes ebenfalls erwähnt.

⁶ Vgl. Crum (Boll 1922: 207): "As pointed out in the introduction, *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ* is in these texts and apparently elsewhere frequently used along with *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ* (of course a way suggesting that 1 *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ* = 2 *ⲁⲛⲓⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁ*, though there are difficulties in this view."

haben, welche die Gemeinschaft um den Briefschreiber erhalten hat, als "Segen" bezeichnet werden (vgl. Zeile 8).¹⁷ Auffällig ist allerdings, daß diese Zuwendung ausdrücklich als "groß" bezeichnet wird. Dies erweckt den Eindruck, daß es sich um eine vergleichsweise bedeutende Zuwendung handelt. Dies wird auch durch den Nachsatz zum Ausdruck gebracht: Der Schreiber sieht sich außer Standes, den frommen Völkern zu entschädigen (Zeile 9ff.). Beim dem sich an diese Wendung anschließenden Satz findet ein Subjektwechsel statt. Zwar dankt der Empfänger im Namen der ganzen Gemeinschaft für die Zuwendung,¹⁸ eine einzelne Person hat jedoch die Zuwendung, für welche die Gemeinschaft dankt, letztendlich erhalten und ist infolge in der Lage, den großzügigen Spender zu bedanken.¹⁹ Mit der dritten Person Singular scheint Gott gemeint zu sein, der aufgrund der frommen Zuwendung die Gerechtigkeit schenkt.²⁰ Diese Interpretation wird auch bestätigt durch den vorangehenden Teil des Briefes, in dem von dem Greis der Mönche zu Gott die Reider (Zeile 11) "der dir Gnade erweisen möge und dir mit der Rettung deines Leibes und auch die Rettung deiner Seele gewähren möge". Auffällig ist sicherlich die Verwendung des griechischen Wortes *bedanken* (εὐχαριστέω) schon in Zeile 10. Dieser Begriff bezeichnet im Neuen Testament einerseits den Dienst an der Gottheit, andererseits die anizische Behandlung und wird im biblischen Kontext nun ganz verengt von Gott verwendet.²¹ In der patristischen Literatur kann er dann stiller auch von Gott gebraucht werden,²² in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten ist es vergleichsweise selten belegt und bezieht sich auf anizische Behandlung.²³ Man wird aufgrund der Verwendung dieses griechischen Begriffes wohl vermuten dürfen, daß der großzügige Spender ein sehr konkretes Ergebnis bei der Beseitigung der Unzufriedenheit erzielt hat.

Im Zusammenhang mit den bereits angeführten Zuwendungen an das Kloster fällt auch die vorsichtige Formulierung auf, mit welcher der Verfasser des Briefes um den Esagbulet. Wenn es ihm leicht fällt, dann soll ihm der Empfänger des Briefes diesen Gefallen tun. Und wenn es ihm Mühe macht, dann soll er diese Wohltat zu seinen anderen Tugenden hinzufügen. Fast hat man den Eindruck,

in dem archäologischen Kontext, in dem Entstehung des koptischen Sozialen Reiches. In Syrien, Kappadokien und in Konstantinopel selbst bekannt, durch die Römer, von Kisten und Kisten, und durch die in der Theorie der Religionen zu finden der Kirche.

¹⁷ Die koptische Bezeichnung für "Segen" ist *εὐχαριστία* (εὐχαριστία), was "Segen" bedeutet. In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben. In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben.

Zeile 10: *εὐχαριστέω* (εὐχαριστέω) = "bedanken". In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben. In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben.

¹⁸ Zeile 11: *εὐχαριστέω* (εὐχαριστέω) = "bedanken". In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben. In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben.

¹⁹ In diesem Zusammenhang ist die koptische Bezeichnung *εὐχαριστία* (εὐχαριστία) zu erwähnen, die auch in der koptischen Literatur verwendet wird. In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben. In der koptischen Literatur wird es oft verwendet, um die Beziehung zwischen Gott und der Kirche zu beschreiben.

²⁰ Vgl. *Metaphor* (Metaphor).

²¹ *Metaphor* (Metaphor).

Auch die Tatsache, daß der Verfasser von *Metaphor* (Metaphor) dieses Wort verwendet, daß als weiteres Indiz dafür gesehen werden, daß beide Texte von einem Verfasser stammen.

den "Schemel unter den Füßen" oder auch den "Staub der Füße" erwähnt.¹² Der Empfänger wird jedoch begrüßt von Kopf bis zu den Füßen; der Gruß bezieht sich also auf die ganze Person. Man wird daraus also zumindest eine gewisse Gleichberechtigung der beiden Parteien ableiten können. Auch wenn der Empfänger des Briefes in der Lage war, dem Schreiber Befehle zu erteilen, so wäre bei einer tatsächlichen hierarchischen Abhängigkeit wohl eine größere Unterwürfigkeit im Rahmen dieses Grußes zu erwarten. Der mit *anagnōsis* eingeleitete Gruß findet sich sowohl am Anfang wie auch am Schluß koptischer Briefe.

9. AM ENDE DES BRIEFES

Schlußformeln koptischer Briefe verwenden in vielfältiger Ausformung einen Negensgruß, der den Wunsch guter irden Gesundheit des Briefempfängers zum Ausdruck bringt. Dieser Gruß wird am Beginn des Versus gleich dreimal wiederholt; normalerweise findet sich nur einmal das koptische *ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲥⲓ*. Diese seltsame Häufung des Wunsches drückt möglicherweise die Sorge des Schreibers um die angegriffene Gesundheit des Empfängers des Briefes aus und möchte ihn wohl mit dieser Formulierung der Nachdruckhaftigkeit der Gebete für ihn versichern, die im Kloster für ihn gesprochen werden. Diese Gruppe von Formeln findet sich fast ausschließlich am Ende eines Briefes. Die Formeln stellen eine Art Abschiedsgruß dar, sind also in gewisser Weise mit den Grußformeln verwandt. Der Aussage nach stehen sie jedoch in enger Beziehung zu den "Gesundheitsformeln, denn sie beschäftigen sich wie jene mit dem Wohlbefinden des Adressaten".¹³ Die Stellung der Schlußformel bestärkt die Richtigkeit der Annahme, daß erst nach Abschluß des Briefes die Bitten des Schreibers gebeten haben, noch um die Zuwendung vorerwähnter zu bitten.

Bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß die tripartite Formel "um den Zusatz "wesen sein" erweitert wird, der infolge der araischen Wurzeln auf dem ersten Kopten von Konstantinopel determiniert worden war. Diese dogmatisch-anstößliche Bestimmung der Dreifaltigkeit findet sich meist in der griechischen Einleitungssformel koptischer Urkunden.¹⁴ Sie ist für Briefe jedoch zumindest ungewöhnlich.

¹² Bredenkopf-Ziegler 1983: 106.

¹³ Bredenkopf-Ziegler 1983: 106. Tripartite Formeln sind soeben normalerweise im Präkript der Briefe. Finden sich aber auch nicht selten am Briefanfang.

¹⁴ Bredenkopf-Ziegler 1983: 108.

¹⁵ Für verschiedene Schlußformeln von Briefen, in denen die obige Formel erwähnt wird, vgl. Bredenkopf-Ziegler 1983: 106-107, unter den von ihr zitierten *Texts* und *Varianzen*, welche die "heilige Dreieinigkeit" enthalten, findet sich die in diesem Brief betagte Formel (S. 20).

¹⁶ Bei Hellegersgl. Lörzer: Worterbuch, 1, 1, dem ist auch im Beleg in einem Brief verzeichnet.

- LHJ: Köppel, S. und Gierlings, W. (eds.) (2002): *Lexikon der antiken jüdischen Literatur*, Freiburg etc.: Herder.
- LThK: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg etc.: Herder.
- RA: *Reallexikon der Antike und Altertum*, Stuttgart: Hiersemano.
- RI: *Paulus Reallexikon der christlichen Literaturwissenschaft*, Stuttgart: Alfred Bruckmann.
- RIH: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- RIH: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Hgbr. New York: De Gruyter.
- Mand, K. und Mand, H. (eds.) (1988): *Das jüdisch-antike Hierosolyma*, Berlin New York: De Gruyter.
- Alben, J.-P. (1993): "Le paratexte sacré," *Revue de la Bible* 4, 228-241.
- Amelineau, J. (1888): "Fragments des vies de Pothime et de Theodor," in: *Revue de la Bible* 1, 149-154. Bd. 4 Paris: Ernest Leroux, 821-832.
- Angenendt, A. (1964): "Zur Ehre der Ältere erlösten," *Zeitschrift von Herberg zur Religionsgeschichte*, *Relig.* 159, 221-234.
- Angenendt, A. (1997): *Heilige und Reliquien*, Die Geschichte ihrer Kulten vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart (2. Aufl.), München: Beck.
- Angenendt, A. (1998): "Reliquien II," *Lexikon der Antike* 20, 49-74.
- Angenendt, A. (1999): "Reliquien II," *Historisch-theologische Zeitschrift*, in: *LThK* Bd. 8 (3. Aufl.), 1091-1094.
- Arnou, J. (1974): "Die Female Transvestite in Early Mesopotamia: The Origin and Development of a Motif," *Leipziger Studien* 8, 1-32.
- Rapin, R. (1993): *Leopoldo da Silva*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hausverster, H. (1972): *Ägypten-Ägypten, Das Museum als Symbol der Einigkeit in der Fülle und im Kult der frühen ägyptischen Kunst*, für Kunstmuseum-Ägyptische Museen, München: Regensburg/Hausverster/Ägyptische Museen.
- Haus K. und Foye, J. (1984): *Die Kunst von Ägypten bis Chalkide*, 4. Nachdruck 1989, Freiburg etc.: Herder. 4. Teil, H. (ed.): *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* II, 1. Halbband: *Die Kunst der Antike*, 2. Halbband: *Die Kunst der Neuzeit*.
- Beckmann, J. (2000): "Die religiöse Bedeutung des Urteils im Alten Ägypten," in: Kugler, J. (ed.): *Die Macht des Nils: Zum 100-jährigen Bestehen des Ägyptischen Museums in Berlin*, Berlin: Staatliche Museen Berlin, 26-27.

- Behlmer, H. (1998). "Visitors to Shenoute's Monastery," in: Frankfurter, D. (ed.) *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden: Brill) = *Religion in the Greco-Roman World* 1341, 341-371.
- Behlmer, H. (2001). "Weibliche Körper im Monchsgewand," in: Franz, C. und Schwabke, G. (eds.) *Geschlechter weiblich: Körper, Erfahrungen, Körperkonzepte* (Berlin: Edition Ebersbach), 12-34.
- Beltz, W. (1998). "Amuletten I. Religionsgeschichtlich," in: *RelCh* 2 (4th edn.), 442-443.
- Biedenkopf-Ziehner, A. (1983). *Entwicklungen einer koptischen Buchformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen* (Würzburg: Harrassowitz) (= *Koptische Studien* 1).
- Biedenkopf-Ziehner, A. (1990). "Motive einiger Formeln und Topoi aus ägyptischen Briefen paganer und christlicher Zeit," *AntCh* 23, 8-31.
- Bohm, Th. (2000). "Severus von Antiochien," in: *JThSt* 141, 9 (3rd edn.), 502-504.
- Bruck, J. F. (1984). *Le bon romain: essai sur l'histoire du culte romain* (Berlin: Springer).
- Brum, J. P. (2003). *Le vin et l'eau dans la méditerranée antique: L'architecture, l'identité et principes de transformation* (Paris: Editions France).
- Bruns, P. (2002). "Severus von Antiochien," in: *JThSt* 144 (edn.), 636-637.
- Clickson, S. J. (2005). "Archimandrites and Androsapso: A Preliminary Survey of Excavation at Bawit," in: Palme, B. (Hg.) *Antiquities 24: Internationalen Papyrologiekongresses Wien 2001*, 28. Juli 2001, Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften = *Papyrologica Austriaca* 13, 103-107.
- Cohn, J. (1904). "Essig," in: *RelCh* 6, 635-646.
- Crum, W. E. (1939). *Coptic Dictionary* (2000), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Crum, W. E. (1902). *Coptic Chronica from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund: the Coptic Martyrion and Others* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund).
- Davis, S. L. (1998). "Pilgrimage and the cult of saint Thekla in late antique Egypt," in: Frankfurter, D. (ed.) *Pilgrimage and holy space in late antique Egypt* (Leiden etc.: Brill) = *Religion in the Greco-Roman World* 1341, 305-319.
- Dölger, F. J. (1974). "'Öl der Eucharistie,' Zum Schreiben der Synode von Karthago im Frühjahr 255," in: *AntCh* 2 (2nd edn.), 184-186.
- Dölger, F. J. (1975). "Das Anhangekreuzchen der B. Makrina und der Ring mit der Kreuzpartikel. Ein Beitrag zur religiösen Volkskunde des 4. Jahrhunderts nach der Vita Macrinae des Gregor von Nyssa," in: *AntCh* 2 (2nd edn.), 81-119.
- Dölger, F. J. (1975a). "Die Eucharistie als Reiseschutz. Die Eucharistie in den Händen der Laien. Volkskundliches aus der Rede des hl. Ambrosius auf den Tod seines Bruders Satyrus," in: *AntCh* 5 (2nd edn.), 232-247.

- Dudley, M. (1998). "Närbung IV. Kirchengeschichtlich und praktisch-theologisch," in *JPh* 29, 714-715.
- Ehner, M. (2001). "Krankheit und Heilung III. Bulstisch," in *KoG* 4 (4th edn.), 1730-1731.
- Eckstein, F. and Wazink, J. H. (1980). "Annalen," in *KdU* 1, 397-411.
- Ehrlich, E. (1997). "Krankheiten," in *JThK* 6 (3rd edn.), 426-430.
- Ergemann, J. (1973). "Palastinensische Pilgerampallen aus E. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn (mit 7 Abbildungen im Text und 16 Tafeln)," *JdU* 16, 5-27.
- Förster, H. (1999). "Kopt. Texte 349. *metempsychosis oder metempsych.*," *Zeits* 24, 332-333.
- Förster, H. (2001). "Christlicher Frostbriet (*P. Harnauer* 87v)," in Palmig, R. (ed.) *Wasser-Papier als Festgabe zum 90. Geburtstag von Hermann Harnauer (*P. Harnauer*)*. Wien: Holzhausen, 207-227.
- Förster, H. (2002). *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 11-1489.
- Förster, H. (2003). "Ersatzt die Nite der Schwesteren," Edition von P. Vindob. K. 4^o 28," *Abhandlungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 9, 80-89.
- Frankfurter, D. (1994). "The Cult of the Martyr in Egypt before Constantine: The Evidence of the Coptic *Apokalypse of Elean*," *East and West* 25-4^o.
- Frankfurter, D. (1998). "Introduction: Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage," in Frankfurter, D. (ed.) *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. Leiden etc.: Brill, 1. *Religions in the Greco-Roman World* 1341, 3-18.
- Fournet, F.-J. and Vasson, F. (2001). "A propos de PSI IX 4061 (deser. Le nom du daimon et une formulation inconnue d'amblyopiques terminés)," *JPh* 135, 139-149.
- Funk, F.-X., Hübinger, K. and Witzel, M. (1992). *Die Agapodexen-Literatur. Von abgesetzt und herausgegeben von F. Funk, M. Witzel u. H. Pankau*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Gieritz, P. (1991). "Annalen I. Religionswissenschaftlich," in *JThK* 1 (3rd edn.), 566-569.
- Grafar, A. (1958). *Impressio de terra sancta*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Greshake, G. (1997). "Krankensalbung II. Historisch-theologisch," in *JThK* 6 (3rd edn.), 419-422.
- Grossmann, P. (1998). "The Pilgrimage Center of Abu Mina," in Frankfurter, D. (ed.) *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. Leiden etc.: Brill, 1. *Religions in the Greco-Roman World* 1341, 281-302.
- Haase, F. (1924). *Die koptischen Quellen zum Kopten von Aegypten*. Paderborn, Schöningh (StK. I X 4).
- Hamp, A. (1962). "Harnauer, 811," in *JThK* 7 (2nd edn.), 1138-1139.
- Hamel, W. (1968). *S. Tawaddous et ses compagnons (S. Tawaddous et ses compagnons)*. New York etc.: Johnson (C.S.E. 3).
- Heiler, F. (1957). *Lehrbuch und Übungen*. München: Reinhardt.

- Holmeiser, P. (1948) *Die heiligen Öle in der morgen- und abendlandischen Kirche*. Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag. (Das östliche Christentum 23, 67).
- Holl, K. (1928) "Die Bedeutung der neuveröffentlichten melchiorischen Urkunden für die Kirchengeschichte," in: Holl, K. (ed.) *Gesamtheit: Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte II. Der Osten*. Tübingen: Mohr, 283-297.
- Hörak, I. (1989) "Schmuck," in: Henner, J., Förster, H. and Hörak, I. (eds.) *Christliches mit Feder und Pinsel: Christliche in Teut. Zeichen und Alltagsgegenständen aus Ägypten. Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Papyriuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis heute zur Christliche Archäologie*. Wien: Österreichische Verlagsgesellschaft. *Adria* 30, 71-81.
- Jördens, A. (2004) "Reliquien des Schenute in Frankreich etc.," in: Cowey, J. M. and Kramer, R. (eds.) *Papamam: Additions and Aufsätze von Mitgliedern des Heidelberger Instituts für Papyrologie zwischen 1982 und 2004*. München: K. G. Saur. *197* II 16-1, 142-150.
- Kaszyński, R. (2001) "Krankensalbung & Katholizismus," in: *BCA* 4 (4th edn.), 1225-1226.
- Kleczewski, E. (1999) "Severus of Antioch," in: *Theological Encyclopedia* 161, 7, 2123-2125.
- Köpl, E. (2004) "Reliquien: Reliquienverehrung. 2. Alte Kirche bis Reformation," in: *RelG* 7 (4th edn.), 418-421.
- Kratemann, H. (2004) "Wasser III. Ewiges," in: *ELC* Bd. 10 (4th edn.), 986-988.
- Krause, M. (1998) "Heidentum, Gnostizismus und Manichäismus: apokryphe Synaxale," in: Krause, M. (ed.) *Ägypten im spätantiken christlichen Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur*. Wiesbaden: Reichert. *Späthellenismus und Kopten in der ägyptischen Christenheit* 49, 81-116.
- Klawns, R. (2002) *Sinai and the Hymns of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Kügler, J. (2000) "Die Macht der Sage: Dämonen und ihre psychophysiologischen Grundlagen," in: Kügler, J. (ed.) *Die Macht der Sage: Zur religiösen Bedeutung des Dämons in der Religionsgeschichte. Bibel, Liturgie*. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk. *NB* 187, 11-24.
- Lampe, G. W. H. (1961) *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Layton, R. (2000) *A Coptic Grammar: With a Glossary and Glossary. Second Edition*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. *Pf* 11-20.
- Mayerov, P. (2002) "Qualitative Distinctions for *caton* (OIL) and *qonon* (Heard)," *ILP* 39, 101-109.
- Mitchell, L. J. (1966) *Baptismal Anointing*. London: S.P.C.K. *Byzantine Liturgical Collections* 48.
- Muller, F. (2000) "Das Lebensnotwendige: Genesismittel, Rationen, Preise," in: Froehner, H. and Römer, C. (Hgg.) *Ägypten und die Christen in Ägypten*. Wien: Phoebos. *Adria* 121, 21-28.

- Morelli, F. (1999) *Offiziell und informell in Ägypten: zwei Seiten der Münze*. J. C. Lorenz (Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli".
- Papadonastathiou, A. (2001) *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des manuscrits et des papyrus grecs*. (Coptica). Paris: CNRS.
- Papadonastathiou, A. (2004) "Je suis pauvre, mais belle": Le double langage de la cité de *Phaouh* d'Alexandrie. *Annales Archéologiques*, in *Levant* 24: 63-80.
- Pease, A. S. (1977) "Ölbaum IX. Medizinische Verwendung," in *RL* 17-2: 2013-2014.
- Prüfer, (1971) "Äpfeln," in Hoffmann-Krayer, J. and Hachteld-Stauble, H. (eds.) *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Botanik*, Bd. 1: 374-384.
- Plisch, L.-K. (1999) *Einführung in die Ägyptische Sprache*. *Sammlung Paedagogische Bibliothek*. Wiesbaden: Reichert. (Sprachen und Kulturen der christlichen Welt 5).
- Reynolds, L. A. E. and Barnes, L. W. B. (1971) *Paper Manufacture from the Ptolemaic through Copptic Epochs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Roca-Pung, R. (1999) *Antiquitat Històrica i Arqueològica*. (Monografies 11). Barcelona: Roca-Pung.
- Roetzer, W. (1930) *Pyramiden, Tempel und Schiffe als literarische geschichtliche Quelle. Zum literarisch-geschichtlichen Nutzen*. München: Hebel.
- Ruppert, H. T. (1991) "Magie IX. Praktisch-ethnologisch," in *RL* 10: 21-701-703.
- Sands, D. H. (1999) *The Production and Use of Luxurious Cloth in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholix Press. (HSP Supp. 31).
- Scharbert, J. (1980) "Krankheiten II. Abges. Leistungen," in *RL* 10: 680-687.
- Schiller, A. (1972) "Koptisches Recht. Eine Studie zum Grund der Quellen und Abhandlungen", *Koptische Literatur, Kultur und Wissenschaft*. (Festschrift für Josef B. 25). 1-61 der ganzen Reihe. 1970/2000.
- Schmela, G. (2002) *Koptische Inschriften aus spätantiken Ägypten nach den Inschriften der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*. München: C. C. Saure. (PAP. 14.1).
- Schmidt, C. (1925) "Das koptische Hebräer-Fragment des British Museum," *ZVTH* 24: 51-99.
- Schmitz, A. T. (1930) "Das Totenwesen der Kopten. Koptische Literatur über die literarischen und monumentalen Quellen," *ZVTH* 28: 1-28.
- Schulgen, G. and Grellings, W. (1991) *Zweist. Apostolische Apostolische Überlieferung. Lateinisch Griechisch Deutsch. Einleitung etc.*. Herder. (Festschrift 1991).
- Stadler (1997) "Lissig," in *RL* 11.1: 689-692.
- Stauble, T. (2003) "Ölbaum," in *RL* 15: 689-692.
- Sutner, L. A. Jr. (1975) "Die Krankensalbung, 'das Öl des Gebetes' in den orientalischen Kirchen," *Ephebe des Liturgie* 89: 371-396.

- Synek, E. M. (1994) *Heilige Frauen der frühen Christenheit. Zu den Eigenheiten in hagiographischen Texten des frühchristlichen Ägypten*. Augsburg: Augustinus-Verlag. (D. 43)
- Till, W. C. (1941) "Die Oxyria der Wiener Papyriensammlung." *ZfA* 95, 195-228.
- Till, W. C. (1951) *Die Papyri des Ägypten*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Touraine, J. R. (2000) "Severus von Antiochien," in: *JH* 31, 184-186.
- Vogrin, H. (1978) *Handbuch der Hagiographie, Bd. 4: Heile und Krankensalbung*. Freiburg etc. Herder.
- Vogrin, H. (1980) "Krankensalbung," in: *JH* 19, 196-199.
- Vries, W. de (1940) *Sakramentaltheologie des ersten christlichen Jahrhunderts*. Rom: Pont. Institutum Orientalium studiorum. (D. 125)
- Watt, J. (2002) *Women of Time: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (New Tenthraon: *Journal of the Society for the Study of Early Christianity*, 1).
- Will, J. (2000) *Die Kunst der Antike, Bd. 1: Die Kunst der Antike*. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Bestandskataloge. 2. Wiesbaden: *Verlag der Antiken*. (D. 125)
- Zander, J. (1960) *Die Kunst der Antike, Bd. 1: Die Kunst der Antike*. Berlin: *Verlag der Antiken*. (D. 125)

A MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRIUNGAM FAX DEMAND RECEIVED TO THE MONASTERY OF
APPA ABOLUJENT BAWU

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

The papyrus document that is the focus of this paper has a special place in the administrative history of Egypt's early Islamic period, illustrating the close parallelism that marked the usage of Egypt's three languages at this time, as well as the social and political interdependence that this parallelism reflects. Through it we see how the spread of Arabic was negotiated in the face of deeply embedded pre-existing linguistic traditions and the role played by innovations in administrative policy – and the tax structure in particular – in guiding this negotiation.

I am especially pleased to present it here in Sarah's memory as it was during my first visit to Cambridge more than ten years ago, when I first met Sarah, that she took me to the University Library to read it together.

† $P \in \{1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839,$

In formula II (30 December 751), the Arab pagarch of the Upper Aschmun (Hermopolite nome), Ihsān b. Ziyād, issued an *entahon* or tax demand-note, to one Ioannes, son of Ifigenios (Yahannich, Ishut) of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Dierut. The *entahon* was written, strikingly, in two languages: Arabic and Coptic – the only example extant of a bilingual *entahon*. A Greek note was added to the top, probably referring to the payment having been made, adding a third language to the document. The note informs Ioannes that he has to pay two gold coins (1 *trichasmar*, 1 *trichasmar* 2) as his poll-tax assessment (1 *trichasmar* 2) for the *horog* year 236 (751) C (1 till 30 Apr. 1, 16 inclusion 8). Ioannes is instructed to pay this tax to the local tax collector (1 *trichasmar* 2) *qabshat qaryatka*, 3–17 *phosethy mpekhetes* in six instalments (1 *trichasmar* 2, 17 *trichasmar* 2). In conclusion the pagarch recommends that Ioannes obtain a receipt from the tax collector (1 *trichasmar* 2) and not pay more than the amount stated in his *entahon*. If the collector deviates from these prescriptions, Ioannes is not to pay him anything, but is to come to the pagarch (11–14, 23–22). Although the text follows the structure

The information in this paper reflects the views of the author(s) and not necessarily those of the International Society for Third Millennium Publishing, established in January 2002. It does not represent an official statement of the Society. It is not intended to be used, in whole or in part, for the promotion of any product or service, or for the promotion of any political, religious, or ideological position. It is not intended to be used, in whole or in part, for the promotion of any product or service, or for the promotion of any political, religious, or ideological position. It is not intended to be used, in whole or in part, for the promotion of any product or service, or for the promotion of any political, religious, or ideological position.

Psychodidae of the Americas. I. Monahan, *Neotropical Psychodidae*, a paper presented by the University of Kansas at the Entomological Society of America, 1993, together with the publication of the same work in *Mem. Entomol. Soc. Amer.* (Lubbock, Texas, Monahan, Peterson and Turkiye, 1993) has been this collection, and now the same collection is being distributed as a separate publication, *Psychodidae of the Americas* (J. Krombein, 1993) and (1994).

For the integrals and the decomposition, it is sufficient to know ρ and ρ_{max} and ρ_{min} .

and uses the formulae of contemporary tax demand-notes, it also displays some extraordinary features which require comment. The verso of this papyrus was used for a later Greek tax-receipt whose edition appears as *P. Oxy. 46*.

P. Oxy. 45's most salient feature, and the one which immediately marks it as highly unusual, is the three languages used. Bilingual Greek-Arabic tax demand-notes and other tax-related documents issued to village communities are attested from the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt. One of the first Arabic papyri, dated 22-23, was written in Greek and Arabic. It is a receipt for the delivery of sixty-five sheep to an Arab army unit by the Hieracleopolite nome.¹ At this early time, when Arabic-speakers were few and far between in the Egyptian countryside, the use of both the conquerors' language and that of their indigenous administrators was necessary if both parties were to understand the transaction, and this practice continued in the central chancelleries into the early eighth century, as the documents from the archive of Basilios, the pagarch of Aphrodito, indicate. Tax demand-notes for individual taxpayers, on the other hand, were written in the pagarchies for local consumption only and these were written entirely in Greek or Coptic. Similarly, eighth-century tax demand-notes issued to other members of the Apa Aphroditonastery were all written in Coptic only.

This is not to say that the Arabic and Coptic of our text are exact translations of one another. A first difference is that of the name of the pagarch issuing the *entagion*. While the official is named Hishām b. Ziyād in the Arabic part of the text, the official seems to be described by his early partially read, *kroya*, in the Coptic part of the text, followed by the same pseudo-synonym. In the first five to six lines the differences between the two texts are minimal and largely attributable to the two different scribal traditions, each imposing the use of its own technical formulae. In the final part of the text, however, the deviations become more striking, even though the sense of the text remains the same. In the Arabic Ioannes is told to come to the pagarch if he does not manage to obtain a receipt from the collector; the Coptic, on the other hand, says that he should do so if the collector demands from him more than that stipulated in his *entagion*. Other lines (ll. 11-13) also appear in one of the two texts only. Finally, only the Arabic mentions the name of the village and date the document was written, while the Coptic ends with the formula that the current *entagion* was written up as evidence for Ioannes.

P. Oxy. 45's second remarkable feature is its sheer length and especially the pagarch's extensive recommendations to safeguard Ioannes, the taxpayer, from abuse by the *taxthaw qabhal*. First of all, not only is Ioannes told to obtain a receipt for his payment sealed by the *taxthaw* and instructed not to pay more than the *entagion* demands, but the Arabic goes on to say that if the *qabhal* refuses to give Ioannes a receipt, he should withhold payment altogether and come to the pagarch so that he might deal with the matter. The Coptic, on the other hand, states that if the *taxthaw* asks for anything more than what is required by the *entagion*, Ioannes should similarly approach the pagarch. The Coptic ends by saying that the *entagion* is written to protect Ioannes of these things. These benevolent admonitions of the pagarch's reflect a relatively well-established formulaic practice, and appear either singly or severally in ten eighth-century documents and all together in one Greek and one Coptic poll-

¹ SHAPE 1976. The other Arabic papyrus, dated 22-23, is the end of a tax demand note for money taxes to be paid in *dioures* (published in Goettingen 1990). It still exists in its very well preserved Greek part.

² Cf. *P. Oxy. 45*, *P. Oxy. Arab. 1* (Beck 1996).

³ The first Arabic tax demand note for an individual resident taxpayer is dated 134-52, two years before our papyrus (*P. Oxy. Arab. III-499*).

⁴ *P. Oxy. Aphroditon* p. 47.

tax demand-note, the former written two years earlier in the Hieracidepsite nome. One Arabic tax demand-note also written two years earlier in Asinidays uses three of the formulae with very close linguistic parallels to our text.¹

At first sight there does not seem to be any internal reason for the use of two languages, nor for such extensive instructions. So let us consider the external factors – Egypt's mid-eighth-century economic situation – to see whether it can help us explain the form of the papyri.

2. THE EARLY MUSLIM EGYPTIAN

Immediately following the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 642 C.E., the fiscal and administrative system remained virtually unchanged, staffed in many cases by the same officials who had served under the Byzantines. Only at the highest levels in Egypt did Arabs enter the administration, and even here an extensive continuity of Byzantine-trained scribes and officials continued to perform the basic functions of government. Further down the administrative hierarchy, pagarchs and *choreis* continued to be chosen from among the landowning indigenous elite,² and the system of tributes and tax collections continued more or less unchanged.

Acting on a mixture of 'religious' and ideological motivations, the caliph 'Abd al Malik (r. 65–85, 685–705) instituted significant adjustments to the administrative organisation of the Islamic Empire. His governor 'Abd al 'Aziz in office c. 65–85/685–705 was responsible for implementing these changes in Egypt. Starting at the end of the eighth century, a series of administrative reforms took place which resulted in greater Arab participation at the lower levels of the administration and closer scrutiny of Egyptian tax-payers. It is around this time that Arabs start to replace Christian pagarchs and *choreis*.³ The Muslim pagarchs seem to have deviated in one important respect from their predecessors: no longer belonging to the traditional land-based Egyptian elite, they were not tied to the land they governed through private estates, but instead moved through different regional posts during their administrative careers.

These reforms resulted in improved registration and supervision of tax-payers and their dues. The first land surveys and censuses took place under 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Habbāh (in office 107–36/725–54). Safe-conduct guarantees, back-seals and other measures tracked tax-payers and limited their movements,⁴ while forced land assignments⁵ and land development programs increased the agricultural acreage available.⁶ Perhaps not surprisingly, the first Egyptian revolts and signs of economic

¹ C 98 VAB.7, Hgt. 112.140.

² *Prakt. Lehrs. 112* (1900), 84; *ibid.* 100, 140.

³ For administrative changes upon conquest, see the first years of Muslim rule, see J. Hodgson (2007) and idem (2007b; Kishor, Haggard).

⁴ Suresky (2005), 62–63.

⁵ *Abbasid. 265*, C 98 VAB.1; introduction, *Muslims: Arabs* (199), 200; *History of the Patriarchate* 74–75.

⁶ Robinson (2003), *Origins*, 207.

⁷ Maat (2000).

⁸ See for example, *Prakt. Lehrs. 112* (1900), 84; *ibid.* 112, 140; *ibid.*

Muslim official is dated 714¹¹ and the first Arabic one dates from 148/765.¹² How these Muslim officials, and their responsibilities, related to the Coptic village headmen remains, however, to be determined.

Another change seems to be related to the introduction of the direct fiscal responsibility and communication between the pagarch and individual tax-payers. Some Abbasid tax receipts (*khata'at*) contain formulae allowing their holders to travel freely, phrase which before that time appeared in safe-conduct guarantees. With the tax receipts issued directly by the pagarchs rather than by local indigenous tax-collectors, the writing of separate safe-conducts by the pagarch's chancellery had become redundant. The emphasis on obtaining a receipt (your papyrus) might be related to this change.

Let us then return to 45 to see how this system worked at Hawat and how these changes are represented in our text.

1. RECONSTRUCTION

Isimenes was taxed for his yearly poll-tax as a member of the Apa Apollo monastery, but for some reason he received an individual tax demand-note directly from the Muslim pagarch. There is no reason to assume that Isimenes was not also liable for his taxes to the monastery, which remained responsible for the tax collection and the transfer of the accumulated taxes in one lump-sum to the Muslim authorities, while probably also standing guarantee for the total amount of taxes for which the monastery was liable. Whether all individual tax-payers received their own tax demand-notes in the name of the pagarch is doubtful; there are simply not enough of such individual tax demand-notes preserved to support this. The monastery's responsibility extended beyond its own community and included nearby villages and other areas, as can be concluded from the tax payments made to the monastery.¹³ While Isimenes was clearly associated with the monastery, he was not necessarily a monk, and might have been living in any one of the villages or estates falling under the monastery's financial control.

The function of the monastery as an intermediary between the tax-payers and the Muslim authorities streamlined tax payments in several ways. The monastery provided loans to individuals to pay their taxes,¹⁴ and exempted certain members from tax payments,¹⁵ or allowed them to defer payments.¹⁶ Several tax receipts for individual tax-payers show that the monastery also functioned as a goods-for-money exchange, accepting material goods and services in lieu of payments in coin.¹⁷ The monastery

¹¹ Jones 2001b: 226-7. For other examples see e.g. *POxy* 41, p. 64. An undated seventh century Greek tax receipt was made out in the name of Simeon and is the first tax receipt made out by a representative of the Muslim administration at the village level (Jones 2001b: 226).

¹² *PCair* 120, 117-119.

¹³ *Koptiki* 1407, 1476-39.

¹⁴ Jackson 2008, introduction.

¹⁵ *P. Apa Apollo*, p. 20, text 19.

¹⁶ Jackson 2008, texts 3, 5, 9, 10.

¹⁷ Jackson 2008, texts 11.

¹⁸ Jackson 2008, texts 1, 4, 12, 14, 15. Hasegawa 1997: 377-378.

and *embute* taxes.⁷¹ Two further papyri demand a *dennoum* payment, which might have included the poll-tax.⁷² And finally, a Greek demand-note for an individual taxpayer of the Heracleopolite nome is for the wheat taxes. Where specified the taxes are to be paid to a tax-collector called a *rephrouthypodektes* in the Greek documents, *bekthou* in the Coptic, and *gabhal* in the Arabic.⁷³

The closest parallels to 48 come from a Coptic poll-tax demand-note of unknown origin and date, an Arabic tax demand-note issued in the same Upper Asyutian pagarchy and a Greek tax demand-note issued in the Heracleopolite pagarchy, both dated to two years earlier than our document.⁷⁴ The Arabic document is a poll-tax demand-note for the entire year, the Greek and the Coptic ones are also only for the poll-tax (*diagrapheion*). This suggests that, rather than indicating that loanes in particular was in need of special protection, the formulae used at the end of our document were technical expressions used especially in tax demand-notes that indicated taxpayers of their total of the yearly tax burden and issued in the pagarchy's chancellery, for which the latest evidence is dated two years after the Abbasid revolution. This is exactly the year that the Abbasid governor Abu al-Awar is said to have started his tax reforms, two years after a period of relative high tax-burdens for the indigenous population under the first Abbasid governor Nubakht al-Muwashshiq (132-37 AH/749-54).⁷⁵ Shorter, smaller tax demand-notes for separate instalments, which were not written in the pagarchy's chancellery, but occasionally issued in his name, contained only some or none of the formulae. These formulae introduced around the same time that individual tax-payers were made directly responsible to the Muslim authorities for their tax payments, might well have been expressions of the same desire to check and diminish the role of regional middle-men, who as members of the local elite had hitherto been responsible for the collection of taxes in the countryside. On the other hand attestations of conflicts between local tax-payers and Muslim tax-collectors increase in this period, suggesting that there might in general have been a need to protect individual tax-payers against abuse from tax-collectors once the buffer between individual tax-payers and the fisc – in the form of Christian Egyptian middlemen – had disappeared. As mentioned above, these changes did not take place everywhere at the same time, nor where they applied uniformly in all of Egypt. But the more frequent appearance of tax-receipts issued by Muslim officials to individual tax-payers⁷⁶ coincides with the first appearance of the more extensive tax-demand-notes in the 770's.

Another source informs us of other ways of redress open to Egyptian tax-payers in Upper Egypt. The only other known trilingual (Coptic-Greek-Arabic) papyrus was written on the Upper Egyptian town of Akhmim (Panopolis) a few years after our papyrus, between 137-54 and 140-57.⁷⁷ It records the statement made by some seventy men from the pagarchy of Akhmim on the order of the Muslim pagarch. The men testify to having withdrawn a complaint against a Muslim tax-collector and his staff, affirming that they were not treated unjustly by him and agreeing that should any of them raise a complaint against the tax-collector in the future he will be liable to a fine.⁷⁸

⁷¹ *P.Oxy.* 140, 140a, 2604a, 1037, 7349.

⁷² *P.Mun. Ispello* 29, 103-6, 150d, 151, 152, 153.

⁷³ *SPPA* III 1, 195 (nos. 723a).

⁷⁴ *CPR* XII 7, *P.Oxy.* 1228 III 190.

⁷⁵ Kindt, *Wakil* 101; *History of the Patriarchate* 128-32; *Medieval* 190-1, 128-320.

⁷⁶ See above, 13.

⁷⁷ *P.Oxy. Arab.* III 187; *Forced Documents* *P.Oxy.* 1228 IX p. 261 and *Greek* 197-9.

⁷⁸ For other examples, see Supplement to this volume.

No revolts are reported in Upper Egypt between 357-52 and 360-67, and in general 45 was written in what seems to have been a relatively calm period. This might suggest that these measures to protect tax-payers against collectors were effective. Papyri from other areas of Egypt confirm that this period was one of administrative reforms leading to increased Muslim penetration of the administrative and economic organisation of the province. The Muslim state increased its presence in the administration by concentrating power in the hands of the Muslim pargarch at the expense of local notables.

The use of Arabic in 45 can similarly be explained as an expression of administrative changes, namely the increased use of Arabic at lower levels in the administration over time. The Arab conquest in 642 C.E. brought not only a new religious but also a new linguistic rule to Egypt. Where Arabs interacted with Egyptians, Arabic (or partially Arabic) documents appear. The first bilingual Arabic-Greek and Arabic-papyri written in the seat of the exiled king of Egypt, indicate that Arabic was used both in *ad hoc* communications with the conquered population as well as in documents related to the regularly collected taxes. In general, however, in the eighth century the presence of Arabic in the countryside was minimal and the papyri show in fact a remarkable continuity of daily life for individual Egyptians and little direct interaction with Muslim authorities. Arabic was used by the central chancellery in Fostat to communicate with lower administrative officials, which explains the presence of Arabic papyri found in Upper Egyptian archives such as that of Hawth in Aphrodito Ishmawi.

The pre-Islamic languages of Egypt (Coptic and Greek) continued of course to be used after the conquest. There was no mass exodus of Egyptians (including those who spoke Greek) forced to leave or emigrating on their own account. Greek continued to exist as a written and spoken language throughout Egypt, but the majority of Egyptians spoke Coptic as their main or only language of communication and generally speaking Greek had made less of an impact in Upper Egypt than in the areas closer to the administrative centre in the Delta and other areas of Lower Egypt. Greek continued to be a living part of the Muslim administration at the highest levels of the administration and in those areas where Greek had become widespread in the pre-Islamic period into the eighth century C.E.

As in the pre-Islamic period Coptic was most important in the administration at the village level, but in the Islamic period Coptic started to be used also for some documents at the level of the pargarchy, where Greek would have generally been used in the pre-Islamic period. When Greek lost its status as the language of Egypt's rulers, it was not Arabic, but Coptic, that benefited at the lower level of the society, extending from private use into that of the lower administration. This effect was more prominent in Upper Egypt where Greek had not made such a lasting impact and where Arabic had not yet made much of an impression either.

Pt Jackson 45 primarily written in Arabic and Coptic fits these general observations well. Slowly, but surely the use of Arabic increased in the administration of the pargarchy with the arrival of Muslim pargarchs. The report preserved in literary sources that the governor 'Abd al-Jah by 'Abd al-Malik changed the language of the *shiqat* in Egypt from Greek or Coptic into Arabic in 87-90s¹⁰ signifies less an absolute change rather than the beginning of a move towards increased use of Arabic.¹¹ The text of 45 was written in both Arabic and Coptic. The Arabic is the first and thereby the most prominent part representing the presence of a new ruling power in Egypt that communicated in a new language. The Coptic text was still an essential part of the document. In fact, while a similar document

¹⁰ Koudi, *Wahit* 55-59. For 'Abd al-Jah see 87-90s (p. 12).

from the papyrus's chancellery, would probably have been written in Greek in the pre-Islamic period; it was now written in Coptic. Coptic had been the most important language of administration in Upper Egyptian monastic and village communities, and its use extended in the Islamic period into the papyrus's chancellery. From the same papyrus where our papyrus originated, however, comes the first entirely Arabic tax demand-note for an individual Christian tax-payer, dated only a couple of years before 45.

As with so many seemingly insignificant everyday documents, Ioannes' tax demand-note, from its very personal, small-scale vantage point, nevertheless offers some valuable insights into important transformations in the early Abbasid fiscal administration of Egypt. With the coming of Muslim papyri at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., not only the language, but the structure of the financial administration changed drastically. This new cadre of Muslim papyri, coming from non-landed backgrounds, were now professional bureaucrats, sent out by the central authorities to bring the administrative system under more direct Muslim control. At least initially, however, they remained dependent on the network of indigenous, local notables who continued to be responsible for the collection and delivery of taxes, overseeing the collection process itself and standing guarantor for its full payment. But as the government's push to deal directly with its tax-payers gathered momentum in the early Abbasid period, even this role was diminished. *P. Lucken 45* shows all these processes in action.

P. Lucken 45 (Michael 8071A)
Plate XIX

26x 18 cm

Jumada II 330/December 753
Provenance unknown

A light brown papyrus with some worm holes and abrasions where upper-layer fibres have been worn away. A complete document is preserved on side A of the papyrus, although the left-hand side of the text is illegible in places. The text consists of 22 lines in three different languages: Greek 5 lines (ll. 1-11), Arabic 11 lines (ll. 2-21), and Coptic 10 lines (ll. 13-22); they are written with black ink perpendicular to the fibres. Side (B) was reused for a Greek receipt dated three years later, which is edited in an appendix.¹

The Arabic has few diacritical dots, and *hamza* is absent following documentary practice. *Shin* is written with three teeth. Some letters show characteristics of early script, such as *dal* with a rightward bend at the top (l. 5 *dhayr*) and *ayn* with an extended horizontal line to the right (l. 8 *al li*, l. 9 *ghayr*, l. 10 *ghayr*, l. 11 *undhar*, l. 11). There is little space between letters and words.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.

¹ The Coptic of this text was originally edited by Sarah Jackson. I have added the Arabic and Greek. I would like to thank Nick Vaggis for his help in reading the Greek characters.

- 13 4
 14 5
 15 6
 16 7
 17 8
 18 9
 19 10
 20 11
 21 12
 22 13
 23 14
 24 15
 25 16
 26 17
 27 18
 28 19
 29 20
 30 21
 31 22
 32 23
 33 24
 34 25
 35 26
 36 27
 37 28
 38 29
 39 30
 40 31
 41 32
 42 33
 43 34
 44 35
 45 36
 46 37
 47 38
 48 39
 49 40
 50 41
 51 42
 52 43
 53 44
 54 45
 55 46
 56 47
 57 48
 58 49
 59 50
 60 51
 61 52
 62 53
 63 54
 64 55
 65 56
 66 57
 67 58
 68 59
 69 60
 70 61
 71 62
 72 63
 73 64
 74 65
 75 66
 76 67
 77 68
 78 69
 79 70
 80 71
 81 72
 82 73
 83 74
 84 75
 85 76
 86 77
 87 78
 88 79
 89 80
 90 81
 91 82
 92 83
 93 84
 94 85
 95 86
 96 87
 97 88
 98 89
 99 90
 100 91
 101 92
 102 93
 103 94
 104 95
 105 96
 106 97
 107 98
 108 99
 109 100
 110 101
 111 102
 112 103
 113 104
 114 105
 115 106
 116 107
 117 108
 118 109
 119 110
 120 111
 121 112
 122 113
 123 114
 124 115
 125 116
 126 117
 127 118
 128 119
 129 120
 130 121
 131 122
 132 123
 133 124
 134 125
 135 126
 136 127
 137 128
 138 129
 139 130
 140 131
 141 132
 142 133
 143 134
 144 135
 145 136
 146 137
 147 138
 148 139
 149 140
 150 141
 151 142
 152 143
 153 144
 154 145
 155 146
 156 147
 157 148
 158 149
 159 150
 160 151
 161 152
 162 153
 163 154
 164 155
 165 156
 166 157
 167 158
 168 159
 169 160
 170 161
 171 162
 172 163
 173 164
 174 165
 175 166
 176 167
 177 168
 178 169
 179 170
 180 171
 181 172
 182 173
 183 174
 184 175
 185 176
 186 177
 187 178
 188 179
 189 180
 190 181
 191 182
 192 183
 193 184
 194 185
 195 186
 196 187
 197 188
 198 189
 199 190
 200 191
 201 192
 202 193
 203 194
 204 195
 205 196
 206 197
 207 198
 208 199
 209 200
 210 201
 211 202
 212 203
 213 204
 214 205
 215 206
 216 207
 217 208
 218 209
 219 210
 220 211
 221 212
 222 213
 223 214
 224 215
 225 216
 226 217
 227 218
 228 219
 229 220
 230 221
 231 222
 232 223
 233 224
 234 225
 235 226
 236 227
 237 228
 238 229
 239 230
 240 231
 241 232
 242 233
 243 234
 244 235
 245 236
 246 237
 247 238
 248 239
 249 240
 250 241
 251 242
 252 243
 253 244
 254 245
 255 246
 256 247
 257 248
 258 249
 259 250
 260 251
 261 252
 262 253
 263 254
 264 255
 265 256
 266 257
 267 258
 268 259
 269 260
 270 261
 271 262
 272 263
 273 264
 274 265
 275 266
 276 267
 277 268
 278 269
 279 270
 280 271
 281 272
 282 273
 283 274
 284 275
 285 276
 286 277
 287 278
 288 279
 289 280
 290 281
 291 282
 292 283
 293 284
 294 285
 295 286
 296 287
 297 288
 298 289
 299 290
 300 291
 301 292
 302 293
 303 294
 304 295
 305 296
 306 297
 307 298
 308 299
 309 300
 310 301
 311 302
 312 303
 313 304
 314 305
 315 306
 316 307
 317 308
 318 309
 319 310
 320 311
 321 312
 322 313
 323 314
 324 315
 325 316
 326 317
 327 318
 328 319
 329 320
 330 321
 331 322
 332 323
 333 324
 334 325
 335 326
 336 327
 337 328
 338 329
 339 330
 340 331
 341 332
 342 333
 343 334
 344 335
 345 336
 346 337
 347 338
 348 339
 349 340
 350 341
 351 342
 352 343
 353 344
 354 345
 355 346
 356 347
 357 348
 358 349
 359 350
 360 351
 361 352
 362 353
 363 354
 364 355
 365 356
 366 357
 367 358
 368 359
 369 360
 370 361
 371 362
 372 363
 373 364
 374 365
 375 366
 376 367
 377 368
 378 369
 379 370
 380 371
 381 372
 382 373
 383 374
 384 375
 385 376
 386 377
 387 378
 388 379
 389 380
 390 381
 391 382
 392 383
 393 384
 394 385
 395 386
 396 387
 397 388
 398 389
 399 390
 400 391
 401 392
 402 393
 403 394
 404 395
 405 396
 406 397
 407 398
 408 399
 409 400
 410 401
 411 402
 412 403
 413 404
 414 405
 415 406
 416 407
 417 408
 418 409
 419 410
 420 411
 421 412
 422 413
 423 414
 424 415
 425 416
 426 417
 427 418
 428 419
 429 420
 430 421
 431 422
 432 423
 433 424
 434 425
 435 426
 436 427
 437 428
 438 429
 439 430
 440 431
 441 432
 442 433
 443 434
 444 435
 445 436
 446 437
 447 438
 448 439
 449 440
 450 441
 451 442
 452 443
 453 444
 454 445
 455 446
 456 447
 457 448
 458 449
 459 450
 460 451
 461 452
 462 453
 463 454
 464 455
 465 456
 466 457
 467 458
 468 459
 469 460
 470 461
 471 462
 472 463
 473 464
 474 465
 475 466
 476 467
 477 468
 478 469
 479 470
 480 471
 481 472
 482 473
 483 474
 484 475
 485 476
 486 477
 487 478
 488 479
 489 480
 490 481
 491 482
 492 483
 493 484
 494 485
 495 486
 496 487
 497 488
 498 489
 499 490
 500 491
 501 492
 502 493
 503 494
 504 495
 505 496
 506 497
 507 498
 508 499
 509 500
 510 501
 511 502
 512 503
 513 504
 514 505
 515 506
 516 507
 517 508
 518 509
 519 510
 520 511
 521 512
 522 513
 523 514
 524 515
 525 516
 526 517
 527 518
 528 519
 529 520
 530 521
 531 522
 532 523
 533 524
 534 525
 535 526
 536 527
 537 528
 538 529
 539 530
 540 531
 541 532
 542 533
 543 534
 544 535
 545 536
 546 537
 547 538
 548 539
 549 540
 550 541
 551 542
 552 543
 553 544
 554 545
 555 546
 556 547
 557 548
 558 549
 559 550
 560 551
 561 552
 562 553
 563 554
 564 555
 565 556
 566 557
 567 558
 568 559
 569 560
 570 561
 571 562
 572 563
 573 564
 574 565
 575 566
 576 567
 577 568
 578 569

- 9 with *ḥḥḥ* which you sent or someone else. And if he receives from you what he
deserves [. . .] to it. And if he refuse[s]
10 to write it (the receipt) for you, then do not pay him anything but come to me and I,
without
11 for you something else (than what I claimed from someone who did not come to me
from him in a good way. And Yahyā wrote it in
12 ħumada II of the year one hundred and thirty-ox.
- 13 [. . .] By God. Abu 'Alimān The noble Ziyād over the south
14 of Shitūm, the city, writes to Ishaq, son of Isidore of the Monastery
15 of Apa Apollo. This is what has been assigned to you to pay
16 of your *dhāt ḥapḥon* over the canon of the 8th indiction, year 136 which is
nomismata.
17 [. . .] and pay them in six instalments and pay them to the assistant of your village.
18 And take an *antagrat* for this which he seals with his seal for a
19 [. . .] if he is not content, if he were to do so, that he
20 [. . .] your assistant wants to give you a *ḥagrat* for you to give
21 to me if he asks you for everything in the amount you see fit.
22 your *antagrat*. So that you know, I have drawn up this order for payment for you.

[For similar minutes in Greek before, the *ḥumada* recording the name of the tax-payer and the amount of tax to be paid in *nomismata*, see *P.O. 100* III 161-1, 162-1, 163-1 all 91-109. For cv. read cv. 94ly.

A *ḥudḥa khatḥ min ḥ* is a common opening for legal contracts and is also often used for *enagrat*.¹ After *and* there is room to fit the name of the governor. Abu 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazid and a reference to Hishām b. Ziyād's geographical position, i.e. *al-ḥakīm al-ḥa ḥimā*.² Abu 'Awn was succeeded as governor of Egypt by 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazid on 5 Rabi' II 136 (October 754), some months before our papyrus was written but he did not leave Egypt on a campaign to North Africa until Shawwāl I (to March/April 754). Abu 'Awn still appears as the *ḥim* on this *antagrat*. There is also a papyrus with this name, for whom, see *P.O. XXI*,³ where also the Arabic papyri are discussed where this name had been incorrectly associated with the governor rather than a pagarch of the Hetaeropolite with this name.

Hishām b. Ziyād. Of the patronymic only the initial *z* or *z* can be read. This pagarch is not attested in other published documents.

5 *Ḥimā al-ḥapḥon al-ḥim*. The first element of the name of the monastery is not an accurate transliteration of the Coptic ḥimā. Ḥimā, Upper Ḥimā, remained a separate administrative district until the beginning of the third ninth century when it was joined with Ḥimā, Lower Ḥimā, to form *Ḥimā al-ḥimā*.⁴

¹ See *P.O. 100* III 161-1, 162-1, 163-1 all 91-109.

² See *P.O. XXI* 52-1 (S² 1090). Rights *antagrat* 52-4 (no 34).

³ See *Annuaire* 1954-1962 247.

⁴ *Annuaire* 1959 43.

13-14 $\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\mu\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\eta\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ This expression mirrors the Arabic *alā A'la Ashmūn*, although the addition "the city" is lacking in the Arabic. Correct would have been $\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\mu\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$.¹⁶

16-28 $\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ The Greek equivalent of *al-ḥaḥāḥ* is $\delta\upsilon\sigma\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon$ or $\delta\upsilon\sigma\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon$, but the first word seems to fit better at the beginning of this line. There are traces of a letter before $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ and a slanted line at the top of the line which seems to be part of the letter ϵ . Sarah suggested in her notes that some tax like *al-ḥaḥāḥ* or *al-ḥaḥāḥ* should be restored at the beginning of the line.

The eighth indication went from May 1, 754 until April 30, 754, showing an apparent discrepancy of ten months with the *ḥiḥ* year 135 (July 7, 753–June 26, 754). Nikolaos Gouss, however, has observed that this does not signal a conflict, but that the *ḥiḥ* year was the year in which the beginning of the indication (Pachon 6 = May 1) fell. He has listed the parallels to this phenomenon in a forthcoming article.¹⁷

16-28 The scribe seems to have added the ρ after writing $\alpha\eta$, which explains its position under the superscribed ρ of $\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota$.¹⁸ Sarah did not read anything after $\tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$.

17 $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ The monasteries seems to be related to here as a village, as is the case in the Arabic. Sarah translated in this line—and you shall pay them in the sixth installment.¹⁹

18 $\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ In the Arabic the recommendation to have the receipt sealed appears in line 7. For the command to take a receipt for tax payments see the commentary to lines 7-8. Sarah did not read anything before $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$.

19 $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ It seems unlikely that this unusual phrase refers to the governor. Abū Allāh b. Malik's decision that no dead man should be buried until they had paid the poll tax for him.²⁰

20 As the beginning of this line only a few unrelated letters can be discerned, Sarah did not read anything before $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$. She read in this line $\alpha\psi\epsilon\delta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ which she translated "Ask for your receipt."

20-22 $\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\alpha\psi\ \epsilon\pi\omega\kappa\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ See $\epsilon\chi\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ *For the 29.5.6. from the mid-eighth century, P. Bezae 119.3*. Sarah translated in lines 21-2 "you for more than 1 that which you 3 should find for me in your receipt."

22 $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ This phrase seems to be related to the expression that appears in official Greek documents from the Islamic period " $\alpha\eta\ \pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$."²¹

¹⁶ For *al-ḥaḥāḥ* see Sargant, *al-ḥaḥāḥ*, 117.

¹⁷ "Recommendations concerning the payment of taxes," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 151. I should like to thank Nick Gouss for drawing my attention to this article before publication.

¹⁸ For ϵ in the prepositions $\epsilon\pi\iota$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ see Sargant 2012. The two letters are no longer distinguishable, but have merged in modern texts.

¹⁹ For the meaning of "receipt for entry" see Bédard 2007: 35. For $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon$ see Farnet 2002: 141. *RP* 17.8.

²¹ *History of the Patriarchs*, 46.

Bibliography

- Abbott, N. (1965) "A New Papyrus and a Review of the Administration of 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Habīb" in: Makdisi, G. (ed.) *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden: Brill, 21-35.
- Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) *Kitāb al-kharāj* Ed. al-Baḥnā, M. I. Cairo: 1981. Tr. Ben Shemesh, A. Leiden: Brill, 1989.
- Allen, J. and H. Souddel (1998) "Kharām" in van Donzel, E. et al. (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1997, vol. 2, revised edition, Leiden: Brill IX, 1162-1163.
- Becker, C. H. (1906) "Arabische Papyri des Aphasinatandes." *ZfA* 29, 68-104.
- Bell, H. C. (1945) "The Arabic Bilingual Fragment," *Proc. Phil. Soc.* 89, 551-542.
- Bierthner, M. L. (1988) *Boho Was: Notes on Egyptology*, U. Tex. ed. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Casson, L. (1948) "Tax Collection Problems in Early Arab Egypt," *JEP* 169, 274-291.
- Clackson, S. (1993) "The Michaelides Coptic Manuscript Collection in the Cambridge University Library and British Library," in Johnson, L. W. and Orlandi, L. (eds.) *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 3, Rome: L'Asi, 123-138.
- Clackson, S. (1994) "The Michaelides Manuscript Collection," *ZPE* 100, 223-226.
- Clackson, S. (2000) *Is it the Father Who Hears: children from the Monasteries of Apollonia Throu* (in German) *Studies in Papyrology* 43, Oxford: Oxford, 2008.
- Drenth, W. (1984) "Einige frühe arabishe Dokumenten aus der Sammlung Papyrus Fichetazop Rainer (Wien)," *Le Muséon* 97, 109-138.
- Gossein, L. and K. A. Worp (1982) "Problèmes de documentation apollinoptine," *ZPE* 49, 83-98.
- Gomis, N. (2001a) "Abbreviated Nomismata in Seventh and Eighth century Papyrus: Notes on Palaeography and Taxes," *ZPE* 136, 119-122.
- Gomis, N. (2001b) "Reconsidering Some Fiscal Documents from Early Islamic Egypt," *ZPE* 137, 225-228.
- Gomis, N. (2004a) "Arabs, Monks and Taxes: Notes on Documents from Deir el-Bala'izah," *ZPE* 148, 213-224.
- Gomis, N. (2004b) "Another Look at Some Officials in Early Abbasid Egypt," *ZPE* 149, 189-195.
- Gomis, N. (forthcoming) "Reconsidering Some Fiscal Documents from Early Islamic Egypt III."
- Gomis, N. and L. Morelli (2000) "A Requisition for the 'Commander of the Faithful,'" *ZPE* 132, 193-198.

¹ See *ZPE* 141, 27-28 (2003) and the 2007 p. 120-128 commentary. Perhaps also related to a papyrus 1188 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxf. See *RAA* III, 419-5.

- Görshmann, A. (1934) "Probleme der arabischen Papyrustorschung II," *ZDPV* 46, 125-140; 377-396.
- Görshmann, A. (1939) *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten* (ZDPV 46, *Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 57, Band 2, Abhandlung), Vienna: R.M. Rohrer.
- Görshmann, A. (1966) *Handbuch der Orientalistik I Arabische Chronologie II Arabische Papyriwissenschaft*, Leiden: Brill.
- Graess, R. (1928) "An Arabic Papyrus of the 8th Century," *JAO* 41, 247-248.
- Hopkins, S. (1984) *Studies in the Literature of Early Arab*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Husselman, J.-M. (1951) "Some Coptic Documents Dealing with the Poll-Tax," *Aegyptus* 31, 332-338.
- Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam al-257-871) *Futuh Misr*, ed. Ch. Jones, *The History of the Conquests of Egypt under Arabic and Spanish*, New Haven 1922: Yale University Press.
- Kennedy, H. (1998) "Egypt as a Province in the Islamic Caliphate," in Petty, C. L. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Egypt* (2 vols.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 162-86.
- Kondī (d. 350/961) *Kutub al-wulat wa-kutub al-qadāt: The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Ed. Graess, R. Leiden: Brill 1912.
- Maqrīṣī (d. 815/1442) *al-Maṣādir wa-l-mabāhīr fi al-ḥikm al-khāṣa li-l-shar'*, Ed. Sayyid A. I. London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002-2003.
- Morelli, F. (1997) "Seccastrophilates in P.B. 86.1.107," *ZDP* 115, 290, 291.
- Morelli, F. (1998) "Tre registri fiscali del periodo arabo," *Faenza* 33, 359-368.
- Morelli, F. (2000) "Agri deserti coltivati, luppatores, liscio, una *katagoria*; in pmi in SIP VIII 1183," *ZDP* 120, 167-178.
- Muramoto, K. (1981) *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period*, Dohoshu Dohoshu Publisher, Inc.
- Rāḥib, Y. (1993) "Sout-condans d'egypte smeyxade et abbaside," *Arts* 31, 143-168.
- Remondou, R. (1952) "Ordre de paiement d'epoque arabe pour l'imposition capitation," *Aegyptus* 32, 287-294.
- Robinson, C. L. (2006) "Secc-Sealing in Early Islam," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 48, 401-441.
- Supeslopp, P. M. (2001) "Profit Following Responsibility: A Leaf from the Records of a Third Ninth Century Tax Collecting Agent," *ZDP* 31, 91-152.
- Supeslopp, P. M. (2004) *Shaping a Muslim State: Papyri Related to a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* PhD thesis Princeton.

Appendix

NUMERICALS

P.O. Jackson 48

P.O. amh. 1.1 Michael 807 (H)
Plate XX

26 x 18 cm

10 January 758?

The back of the tax demand (*P.O. Jackson 48*) was later reused for a tax receipt in Greek. The name of the tax is virtually impossible to read owing to abrasion, the post-tax, perhaps in combination with something else, is one possibility (see further below).

There is no verb indicating that a payment is made: the preposition *ἐν* was thought sufficient for this purpose. For a similar arrangement, cf. the Hierapolis *P.O. Jd.* V 1746, *SP. X III* 9759, *SP. P III* 20111 = *SP. X XI* 15604 (front of the *Alexandria SP. P III* 693, 701 = *X III* 750).

Two further texts of two lines each (both almost entirely washed off) are written further below; one seems to start *ἡμεῖς* (we), the other *ἐπειδὴ* (because); they are certainly in Greek, and abbreviations are used. It is conceivable that these two texts were more or less of the same kind as the text transcribed below, and we are dealing with a sheet recording successive tax payments by one or two persons, on such documents (see *CPJ. X XI* 163000, app. 83.5).

TEXT

- 1 *ἡμεῖς* ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμετέρας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
- 2 *ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*
ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
- 3 *ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*

TRANSLATION

- 1 In the month of Tybi (day) 15, indiction 11. Through Isaias son of Georgios
- 2 of the eleventh indiction . . . of a reckoned solidus, one-sixth one-twenty-fourth
- 3 one-forty-eighth
- 4 only, given to Isaias son of Georgios. Zacharias agrees (??)

COMMENTS

1. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon$. The conversion of the date to 10 January 258 relies on the assumption that this induction II belongs to the same cycle as induction X of the tax demand. But a later date should be possible too.

I have not been able to arrive at a satisfactory reading of what is written at the end of the line, which is badly abraded (I have worked from a scan of medium resolution, but I doubt that work on the original would have changed things significantly). After the taxpayer's patronymic, there may have stood an indication of his *status*, his profession or other description (note that $\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, whether abbreviated or not, cannot be read), followed by a preposition such as $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota$ or $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ (probably abbreviated) and the name of the taxes. The only letters that can be read with certainty, $\omicron\upsilon\tau$, are perhaps preceded by the symbol for $\omega\tau\epsilon$; one may consider reading $\omega\tau\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$, assuming that a heavy trace after π is part of a raised delta, but this cannot be confirmed. Then comes what may be a symbol such as the abbreviation for $\omega\tau\epsilon$, possibly followed by $\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, yet $\delta\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ or $\delta\iota\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ are not expected in this context.

2. $\mu\delta$. The fraction is guessed at rather than read.

$\epsilon\chi\tau\omicron\upsilon$. The superscript writing may also be read as $\omega\tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ ($\epsilon\chi\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$), $\epsilon\chi\tau\epsilon\upsilon$.

$\omega\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$. Though it is unclear what exactly the scribe intended, I have resolved the most common form in this period (see E. J. Bagnall, *A Commentary on the Taxes Payers of the Roman and Byzantine Periods II* (Milan 1981) 208-9, too the abbreviation $\omega\tau$ N^o XX 1993, where read $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$ instead of $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$; correct also N^o VIII 1343 3), VII VIII 9260 4 has another abbreviated form, to be expanded as $\omega\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$ or $\omega\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$).

3. $\alpha\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$. The implication is that the payment did not go to the treasury but was transferred to a third party, probably in compensation for services offered to the state or its operands. The payment would have come out of the taxes of the local community rather than the treasury. There are several parallels, mostly in Hermopolite tax receipts of this period (e.g. P. Herm. X 1745, 1749, 1752).

$\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\upsilon$. The reading, originally suggested by Sarah, is largely intuitive, based on an attempt to make sense out of the ink visible after $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$. But one would normally expect the scribe's name to be preceded by a cross, which we do not have.

1. ἡγεμῶν τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλωνίου
ἀρχιμ. ἡγεμῶν 1/2

2. ἀρχιμ. ἡγεμῶν 1/2

1. ἡγεμῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, υἱοῦ τοῦ Ν. (am writing to the *likanon*)
2. of the monastery of the Holy Apa Apollon, through [N & the archimandrite]
3. and the father of the topos, where as
4b. instead of me the debt is for 1 solid
4. of the Athenian *ope* to the and [two and one third] *melokastanon*
4. giving them 1

5. 77 artabes of wheat of the Athenian measure and 2 1/2 gold solidi

1. There are a number of monks named Apollon in the *P. Oxy. Pap. I* documents. Some of them presents a patronym beginning with $\epsilon\tau$. It could be Stephanos or Staurakios, etc. (solid in line 4b does not appear either).

4b. This line has been inserted later by a different hand. It has been written right above $\epsilon\tau$ and may refer to the person who states the debt or has inherited it.

4. The complete formula would be $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \chi\alpha\iota\ \alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\iota$ of wheat (grain) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ and two $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$. I owe you. This is one of the few instances of this Athenian *ope*, a measure of volume used for grain. It appears also among the problematic abbreviations in the orders of transport, *ΕΠΙΛΑΒΟΝ* 1-17.¹

5. This would be the closing formula "I am ready to give it to you" or "I shall give these to you."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Forster, H. (2002). *Worterbuch der griechischen Worter in den koptischen dokumenten in den Texten*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Clarysse, W. (1985). "The Athenian Measure at Hermopolis." *ZPE* 60, 232-234.
- Schmidt, C. (1911). "Im koptischer Werkvertrag." *ZPE* 6, 102-106.
- Wipszycka, I. (1991). "Likanon." *ET*, vol. 3, 901-902.

¹ See the discussion of the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau$ here = $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota$ 1-17. Cf. also see Clarysse (1985) and Forster (2001).

THREE GREEK MONESTERAT TEXTS RELATED TO THE MONASTERY OF APA AMOLIO

SALLY TORALLES TOVAR AND KEVIN A. WOOD

Below we publish three Greek texts from the papyrus collection at the Benedictine abbey of Monesterrat near Barcelona.

P. Clackson 48r
LIST OF PAYMENTS

P. Monesterrat 516
Plate XXII

27.5 x 6.5 cm

VI-VIIIth century

P. Clackson 48r folded several times vertically contains a list of anthroponyms followed by amounts of solidi, written in two columns on five lines each across the direction of the fibers. The preservation of the text is probably the Hieroglyphic script (1) (Lindholm 1972). The palaeographical aspects of the handwriting allow us to assign the text to a date in the 6th-8th centuries C.E. The precise purpose of the list is not indicated by way of a heading with a word like *count*, or *taxes*, but it is connected with payments (e.g. rents or taxes). The individual amounts recorded range between 1 solid (line 5) and 1.5 solid (line 10), while in between columns 1 and 10 mention is made of an amount of 6 solid. Given the variation in payments it does not seem very likely that one is dealing with a register of payments of a single per capita tax like the diatriphos.

| column 1 | | |
|----------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | † Iohannes (1) (5) (10) (15) | comp. 1.5 solid (15) |
| 2 | † Iohannes (1) (10) (15) | solid 10 |
| 3 | † Iohannes (1) (10) (15) | solid 10 |
| 4 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |
| 5 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |
| column 2 | | |
| 6 | † Iohannes (1) (10) (15) | solid 10 |
| 7 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |
| 8 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |
| 9 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |
| 10 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |
| 11 | † Iohannes | solid 10 |

1. Iohannes, exarch of the village 1.5 solid

| | | |
|----|-------------------|------------|
| 2 | of Tithers, | 3 sol. |
| 3 | Apollonio, priest | sol. |
| 4 | of Iohannes | 1 sol. |
| 5 | of Iustus | sol. |
| 6 | of Isaac (post.) | 1 1/2 sol. |
| 7 | of Masken | 1 sol. |
| 8 | of George | sol. |
| 9 | of Anouphus | sol. |
| 10 | in total | 12 sol. |

It seems certain that one should take 11-12, 14 and 15, 16 and 17, 18 and 19, together: in other words, we do not think that the amount of 6 sol. belongs to John himself, and we assume that this amount refers to a collection of money referred to earlier on. Adding the amounts in lines 2-9 (one arrives to the total of 8 sol.) which sum, augmented with the 6 sol., yields in line 10 the total of 12 nom.

1 For the $\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha$ = exactor, cf. *ibid.* Vol. 163 (2).

2 For the village of Tithers in the Hermopolite nome, see C. Aldem and Davis 2007: 131, C. Jackson 2000, in the introduction to *P. Oxy. 48-50*, pp. 8-9. It is unclear what the function of the letters added by a second (previous?) hand is, their reading is far from certain and we have refrained from proposing any reading at all (should the papyrus be turned by 90 or 180 degrees?).

3 Instead of reading $\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\sigma$, one may also consider a reading $\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma$ or $\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\sigma$.

4 We do not know how to resolve the abbreviation of $\mu\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$.

5 A personal name $\mu\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ is not known from Greek or Coptic documentary sources (for the latter see M. Hasitzka's website for Coptic personal names found in such papyri, www.michaelhasitzka.com). We think it conceivable that one should separate the elements $\mu\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ and $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ for the former (yielding translations like "young," "youngest, old, high" – we observe that $\mu\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ often forms the first element in compounded personal names) for the latter compare $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ = "small".

6 It should be noticed that in other lines the fractions of a solidus (1 sol. = 24 ket.) are given in the order of 1/2 of 30, 1/3 of 30, 1/4 of 30, 1/5 of 30, 1/6 of 30, 1/7 of 30, 1/8 of 30, etc. Only in l. 1 one finds the fraction of 1/2.

The text on the verso of *P. Oxy. 48* may offer a continuation of the text on the recto. This side holds the remains of four lines also written perpendicular to the direction of the fibres on this side.

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 1 | $\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha$ | sol. = 1/2 |
| 2 | $\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha$ | sol. = 1/3 |
| 3 | $\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha$ | sol. = 1/4 |
| 4 | $\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha$ | sol. = 1/5 |

⁷ *Nomenclature des dénominateurs des fractions* <http://www.egyptologie.net/egyptologie/pdf>

See Crum, *Coptic Literature*, 1875-1964.

1. Or γρονθῖν
2. Read since θεοδωροῦ or ἀποθεωδοῦ.

Furthermore one finds various traces of an earlier (i.e. very faded/unintentionally erased) text written perpendicular (i.e. at an angle of 90 degrees) to the scribe's line (and parallel with the fibre direction). Of this text only the words θεοῦ Ἀγαθῆς are still legible.

P. Mont. Knechtel 49

(RECEIPTS FOR LOAVES OF BREAD)

P. Mont. Knechtel 49
Plate XVIII

15 × 4.9 cm

VIth-VIIth century
Provenance unknown

Verso blank. The margins at top, left, and bottom are all less than 1 cm. The writing stands perpendicular to the fibre direction.

Provenance unknown, VI-VII centuries

1. + Ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ τὸν κύριον Μῆτρον ποντοῦ ἱεροῦ ἱεροῦ
2. ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἐργαστοῦσι θεοδωροῦ σπονδὴν ἁγίαν
3. ἵνα οἱ ποντοῦ σπονδῶν ἐν Μῆτρῳ Μῆτρος αὐτῷ ὡς ὁδε ἀποδοῦναι

1. ἱεροῦ αὐτοῦ

1. + To the most probably Metras the monk, Hierakon.
2. Deliver to the labourers of Domene (i.e. eighteen loaves of bread,
3. make 18 loaves of bread. In the month of Mesore on the 24th of the first indiction.

1. For the title 'abbat,' see Herda and Wipszycka 1964. The name Μῆτρος appears to date in documentary papyri only in SP XVIII 25 bis 4 (oxy., VI cent.).

2. For the word ἀποδοῦναι 'labourer' see *P. Herm.* III 216 introd., *P. Oxy.* LVIII 3958 28v., *CPR* XXII 45-5.

For the personal name ἀποδοῦναι cf. *P. Herm.* 73.2, where ἀποδοῦναι (ed. 1 ἀποδοῦναι) is written where a dative should be used. We think it not unnoticeable that in fact ἀποδοῦναι is a relic of the spelling of ἀποδοῦναι and that the latter form is left uninflected. It seems also conceivable that one is dealing with a female personal or geographical name ἀποδοῦναι, gen. -ῶναι; such a name, however, is not yet found in the standard onomastica or in the *DDBDP*. There are names that can be compared to ours: Τροπαιῶναι, *P. Oxy.* V 1773.4 (Hermopolite, VI cent.), or Τροπαιῶναι, *SPP* XX 221.21 (Hermopolite, VI cent.). However, Preisigke, *NH. 5. 3*, connects these with Ἐρμειῶναι.

On bread and baking in Graeco-Roman Egypt see Harragha 1989; for σπονδή, see esp. *ibidem* pp. 97-102.

3. For the word ποντοῦ written out in full, cf. the remarks made by Cosmis 2000: 154 note to 1. 3 and in 16 and Cosmis 2001: 226 n. 12. Our text does not contribute to sharing his preference for ποντοῦ instead

of *μηνί*? For the use of the temporal dative in such datings in Byzantine papyri, compare also the many cases of datings of the type *Εγγραφή μηνί* (month-name) with *μηνί* written out in full (we have not found any case of *Εγγραφή μηνί* written out in full).¹ Mayser discusses the temporal dative in Ptolemaic documents in his *Εισαγωγή* II 2.285-7.

Mesure 24-17 viii: there is no way to establish which Julian year was covered by the 4th indiction in the late vith century – 552-553, 56th 568, 582-583, 597-598, in the early viith century – 612-613, 627-628, 642-643, etc.¹

P. T. Jackson 50

(FROM THE V. GRIFFITHS MONASTERY TAX COLLECTION)

P. Monts Rougion 713

10.2 x 3.7 cm

viith-viiith century

Planes XXIII-XXIV

Provenance unknown

Verso blank. This papyrus contains a fragment of a Greek document written across the fibres, which seems to have been cut from a larger document. Interestingly, it is provided with a clay seal.

1. Fragment
2. 1. ἡμῶν Ἀπολλωνίου μοναστηρίου (ἡμῶν Ἀπολλωνίου)
3. ἡμῶν Ἀπολλωνίου
4. 2. μηνί (Fragment of a document with a clay seal covering traces of writing)

In this text one seems to be dealing with a payment of a sum of money (only three carats preserved in line 3, but in the preceding *ἡμῶν* one or more solidi may have been mentioned). The payment may be related to matters of taxation as also the use of the clay seal seems to suggest (see below). It is of interest that line 2 refers to one or more monks of the monastery of the Holy Apollon. It is true that the word *μοναχῶν* itself has not been written, but nevertheless we venture to think that a phrasing “monks of the Holy Apollon” cannot be interpreted otherwise. The precise date of the text, given in the text as Paym. 1 of the 4th indiction, cannot be pinpointed any further; the handwriting makes us feel that it probably belongs to the late vith or early viith century C.E.

The clay seal has been stamped twice, and is thus a double one. Each side features a round face of about 5 mm in diameter. On the one side we think we can see a *κομνηνός*, and on the other side a human (perhaps female) figure standing, holding a long object in the left arm. It should be kept in mind that clay seals are frequently found in late papyrus documents dealing with taxation, i.e. either receipts for payment or tax demands. See Wesssington and Harrner (1989); on the basis of this general finding it may be supposed that also in the case of *P. T. Jackson 50* one is dealing with such a document. If this is correct, it may be argued that between a mention of a tax payer (l. 2) and a date (l. 4) one expects in line 3 a tax payment or an imposition to have mentioned, hence our idea to read here *ἐκπίστρη* γ. It must be admitted, however, that the reading of the symbol for *ἐκπίστρη* is all but certain and that the name of the tax paid for is now lost. For seals related to the monastery of Apa Apollo, see Delattre (2007), although his seals feature only monograms.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND TAX PAYMENT IN FOURTH-CENTURY MONASTICISM

ANNE BRADCUCK

By the late Byzantine and early Islamic period, the leaders and economic administrators of many monasteries could look through long lists of property owned and worked by their monasteries and collate receipts for taxes paid on them. Such estates did not spring up overnight, but were the product of centuries of accretion and donation. Here I want to contribute to our knowledge of how these may have developed by investigating their existence, or lack of it, in the earliest period of monasticism, up to the end of the fourth century.

In terms of the theme of this volume, we will want to ask about the extent of monastic estates in the fourth century, and indeed about their existence: put simply, were there monastic estates to administer in the first century of monasticism in Egypt? The documentation as we have it also leads me to ask to what extent land and property owned by monks was under the control of monasteries, rather than the monks themselves, and to what extent the monasteries took collective responsibility for the taxation levied on these lands. Finally, I want to consider to what extent the results we arrive at are a function of the nature of the documentation and how it has come to us, and conversely, to what extent they reflect fourth-century norms and practices.

In terms of the day-to-day supply of food and goods to monasteries, and the sale of their wares, the papyri serve us reasonably well. The letters from Ptolemy to Septimios¹ show the water-seeking unit various wares for the monks in the capital – and selling ‘bundles’ elsewhere – which context suggests are wares from the monastery.² Elsewhere, letters such as *P. Lond.* X, 106³ and some of the correspondence in *P. Vindob.*⁴ provide valuable information, but have less context. Here, however, I want to reflect more narrowly on monastic ownership of land and property, and payment of taxes. The evidence for this is unfortunately neither extensive nor in many cases explicit. It may be set out as follows.

P. Aegy. 48 (Hathor, Hermopolite, 323¹–325¹ NN, resident of the *epoke* called Hathor, sells a well-appointed mixer to Aurelius Eusebios to *govergozē*⁵ from the same *epoke*,

¹ See Sethe (1902), 167–74; Weyl (1935), 172–83; drawing on papyrus 1000, the evidence for the classic discussion of the legal position of ecclesiastical and monastic property in Roman Egypt.

² *P. Aegy.* 1.9, written from Alexandria to the monastery of the monks of the Hermopolite, probably in the first half of the 300s (H. I. Lippert, *Die griech. Papyri*, 1969, p. 430).

³ The buying and selling of *phylargia* is discussed in more detail in *Journal of Papyrology* 80.

⁴ *P. Aegy.* 4, 8. The monastery that seems to be in a position to supply grain and bread to Paul (*P. Aegy.* 4, 8, 10, 11) *P. Aegy.* 12.18–20.

⁵ *P. Lond.* X, 106, 1 (A. 1. 10).

⁶ *P. Vindob.* 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, 10.4.

On the date, see H. I. Lippert, *Hypomemata* (1994), 109–11, p. 109, p. 123.

⁷ It is a *phylargia* (cf. *Journal of Papyrology* 80, 100) and its restoration, such as *phylargia*, might also be entertained, but the context seems to favour the others (see).

P Herm I 100.1-505.1-722 (Hermopolis, shortly after 346-347): Makarios (ἐπισκοπικός) owns 16 acres in the 6th pagus.

P Oxy XLVI 3311 (Oxyrhynchus, c. 375-376): Anonimos (ἐπισκοπικός) who inherited the *episcopate* (presumably including any property he owned) at one Casmellus has passed it onto Annon, himself perhaps a monk.

SB XXII 15311 (Hermopolis, 367-368): The shop of the Pachonian community (πακοῦντιπῶν) [ἐκκλησία] and Annon (the *episcopos*), feature on a list of tax payments.

P Oxy 25 (Hermopolis, 381): Sylvanos (ἐπισκοπικός) takes legal responsibility for the share in the family estate of his ten-year-old nephew (whom he formally adopts), including land, property, and various household goods.

PSM I 168 (Oxyrhynchus, 382): A family notes where their property stood in Oxyrhynchus: 'to the south of the public street, to the east of the properties of Annis the tannery'.

P Oxy XLIV 3206 (Oxyrhynchus, 400): Two *episcopoi* (ἐπισκοπικοί) let out the full and cellar of their property in the *Hippokratia* (ἵπποκράτεια) quarter.

P Oxy II 693.1: Πνεύματα (ἐπίσκοπος) is a bishop in the name of the pious (11).

For more explicit, but still slightly confusing, testimony, such as the request for information on the tithes of a church directed to Apa Sabalos (the *episcopos*), by the *epitome* of Ababastus in *PSM I* 342, we wait until the fifth century.

There is the evidence, such as we have it. I would like to have discussed the land rented by the *Tigrai Moni*, as recorded in the Kellia Agricultural Account Book.¹ The nature of that establishment is still unclear: whatever it was, it resembled most probably a parallel for some institution leasing property, but while its exact status as a Maronite monastery is uncertain, it certainly pays (or did).

The most suggestive (and most often cited or dismissed) is *P Herm* 100.1-11503, which has most recently reappeared as *SB XXII* 15311.² Explicitly interpreted by Klaus Worp,³ this is still our best evidence for the landholdings of a monastery in the fourth century. But it is still frustratingly obscure. The crucial lines are as follows:

¹ Dated originally by H. J. de Jong (1984) as 345 or 346/7.

² *SB XXII* 15311 is a fragment of the original, *SB XXII* 15311.

³ *Oxyrhynchus*, III, 190-200.

The fourth century, I have argued in 'The *episcopos* and the *episcopos* has *episcopos* been noted into question: several elements make a certain *episcopos* in the fourth century, *SB XXII* 15311, *SB XXII* 15311.

⁴ *SB XXII* 15311, 15311.

⁵ See *P Oxy* IV, 1000, page 151, *SB XXII* 15311.

⁶ *SB XXII* 15311, 15311, *SB XXII* 15311, 15311, *SB XXII* 15311, 15311, *SB XXII* 15311, 15311.

⁷ Worp 1993.

⁸ Reproduced from the text of Worp, *SB XXII* 15311, 15311, the *episcopos* are not explicitly noted.

1110 L

17. $\Gamma_1 \vdash \text{true} \rightarrow \text{true}$ (proposition Γ_1 is true) \vdash (1)

[illegible]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

26. Αν το \mathbb{R}^n είναι το σύνολο των σημείων του n -διάστατου χώρου, τότε το \mathbb{R}^n είναι το σύνολο των σημείων του n -διάστατου χώρου.

συνήρησαν. Αλλά βέβαια η ηγεσία των Ελλήνων, που

197, 244, 252

The monastery itself is only explicitly mentioned as the owner of the boat on which, presumably, the taxes which are listed following entry 9 were transported. The monastery in which the *apothikarios* Anasibios son of Hotion belongs is designated in a lacuna, and it is a reasonable restoration, but makes it unlikely that he will be found in Alabastron, or that he is practicing his asceticism there.¹ He has customarily been assumed to be responsible for the taxes owed on the lands which are listed in lines 23ff.² He is on this interpretation either the taxpayer himself,³ or a representative of the monastery, perhaps because of a previous connection with the properties in question.

If the payments listed in II 2311 are those which Anonibrov himself owes, it would provide additional support for the suggestion below that monks usually represented themselves before the state in matters of taxation in the fourth century. However, there may be a more cogent explanation of Anonibrov's presence in this part of the document.

The information on the Akkadian origin might be not unexpected were Amorites personally responsible for the taxes,¹¹ but it is also distinctly reminiscent of the way in which ship's captains are quite regularly required to state their origin with an oathphrase identical to that found here.¹² Amorites' primary responsibility, therefore, has already suggested by Skorpion may be over the transport of the taxes, rather, over the ship itself.¹³ If so, he may have been one of the "brothers who are on the boats" (*amurru' u-mu'annu*), who appear in the Pachaian texts.¹⁴ While charge of a ship is often

¹ As mentioned by a referee, the fact that the estimated β is positive is not surprising, as it is consistent with the relatively inelastic supply of the market. However, as the labor force grows, the elasticity of the supply curve approaches unity, and the labor force grows, the elasticity of the supply curve approaches unity, and the labor force grows, the elasticity of the supply curve approaches unity. (See, for example, the discussion of the labor force in the appendix of Lucas (1997), p. 19.)

Amusingly, the last of the experiments described above (1996) was the only one in which Post had nothing to say (aside from the question of the relationship between α and β).

Allosteric agonists, by contrast, exert their action by binding to the receptor and inducing a conformational change, rather than the psychotropic drugs such as propofol. Thus, α_1 -adrenoceptors are G_i -coupled and activation inhibits Ca^{2+} release.

$$H(\pi_1(X, \mathbb{Z})) \cong H(\pi_1(Y, \mathbb{Z})) \oplus H(\pi_1(Z, \mathbb{Z})) \oplus H(\pi_1(W, \mathbb{Z}))$$

Further analysis of the data suggest that the change in the regression point could make this problem. But struggling to reconcile this with the physical interpretation of the regression point as a property of the property.

[illegible]

³ That study did not distinguish between the two types of *Phragmites* and the *Phragmites* and *Spartina* which were used to represent the latter program's recruitment by *Phragmites* and *Spartina* ($\alpha_{11} = 0.8$, $\alpha_{21} = 0.2$).

[5] P. M. H. Wilson, *Combinatorics*, 365–371.

[illegible]

¹ For a full name, Bourgeois cited *Nasser* as *Abd al-Nasser* in the edition of Feb. 1954 and the chapter divisions of *Veillées* 1980. Largely those of 1954 (1943-1968, 2000) were incorporated in *Bois* 1977 and presumably the same people.

the Pachomian ship.¹⁰ If this is a document whose primary purpose is to list the taxes transported by ships, we should read it not so much as the forerunner to the documents recording the existence of and taxation of monastic estates, but to those which provide evidence for the role of monastic ships (and particularly Pachomian ships) in the transport of taxes.¹¹

P. Vindob. 1187, were it not broken, might prove to be a receipt (though) written by Aurelius Hierax, *grammaticus*, confirming the payment of grain to the *curatio frumentaria* at a lost location "in the name of a monastery." (p. 137) "Accepted: good!" "Acceptable proper names to stand here are rare," but there are other senses of *monasterium* which might give sense. Thus this is an insecure base on which to build a picture of a fourth-century tax-payment by a monastery itself.

As regards the other documents listed above, it is difficult to use them to discuss monastic estates in the sense of those belonging to monasteries, because of the minority of our fourteenth-century evidence; we deal with individual monks, they and not their own capacity, as individuals for legal purposes, and no membership of any monastery is expressed or even implied for any of them.

Where membership of a monastery is specified, it is nearly always in personal letters, for the addressee or sender, but most commonly for third parties.¹ Outside of these we have *P. Vesp.* 48, a contract for the sale of a house where the buyer, and quite possibly the seller, are *unwaged* on the *epos kiken-pew*, *shikop*.² This document is designed to be kept by one or other party. The contract to appoint a deputy in *P. Lond.* XI 1013 is addressed to the overseers of the monastery of Hathon,³ and will have stayed there. Finally there is *AB XXII* (1841) already discussed. Of these only the last is really a 'public' document.

In the other documents listed, the monastery concerned is identified only by name and title. Does this mean that they were not attached to any 'ederation' (both because of their apparent plurality, and in allusions argued between the term *monastērion* and *ἐκκλησιαστικὸν μοναστήριον* these monks are often assumed to live in some sort of community. The term *ἐκκλησιαστικόν*, which five of these monks are called, does not guarantee such, but 'evening that aside' since not all these monasteries are designated thus, it would be statistically unlikely if all these monks and nuns were true loners. The 'house' on the *oria* of Hadrot in P. Acq. 56 has 'neighbours';¹¹ the apothecary-nuns in P. Oxy. 1204 were a property together, and there is a fair chance that the beneficiary of the arrangements which the

*Were they the only ones? Could possibly indicate for some cases, but overall, by using $\text{atan2}(\sin(\theta), \cos(\theta))$ in the Hemisphere, on the polyhedron, $\text{atan2}(\sin(\theta), \cos(\theta)) = \theta$.

¹ As reported in such works (e.g., [2006, 2008]), we will use \mathcal{L}^2 as the L^2 norm and semi-discrete Galerkin and Fourier truncations to approximate $R_{\text{exact}}(u, v)$. In this work, we consider \mathcal{L}^2 approximations to the basis of the moduli space of Abelian surfaces and the problem of bounding the \mathcal{L}^2 -norm of series of their ϕ -twists with the truncations of the Fourier and their \mathcal{L}^2 -norms (e.g., [2006, 2008]).

$$|P_{\text{eff}}(s)| |y_d| |1/(1 - s)|^2 \leq (1 + \epsilon_1 + \epsilon_2 + \epsilon_3) \|2.9a\|_{\text{eff}}$$
[illegible][illegible]

¹¹ See also, for example, *Chen et al.* (2002), *Chen et al.* (2003), and *Chen et al.* (2004) for empirical studies on the effects of the 1996 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) reforms on the labor market of immigrants in the United States.

¹ See, e.g., *United States v. Gurnea*, 199 F.3d 1005, 1010 (9th Cir. 2000).

[illegible]
$$U_1(p_{\text{ex}}, U_{\text{ex}}, \dot{u}_1) = \frac{1}{2} m \dot{u}_1^2 + U_1(p_{\text{ex}}, U_{\text{ex}}, u_1)$$

¹ The papists unfortunately break off before the description of the *extinguishing* of

they were sufficiently developed, they are explicitly the subject of legislation in this regard only in the following century.¹⁰ Papyrological evidence to corroborate the apparent testimony of the Pachomian sources is likewise not apparent until later centuries,¹¹ possibly because the legal impediments to larger transfers¹² (mean donation) were rare, or perhaps because the internal administration needed for management of such collections of property took some time to develop.

Payment of taxes on the behalf of dependents of the monasteries¹³ seems visible in the fifth century, but evidence that monasteries were making a collective response to taxation at this stage¹⁴ is not apparent, and it would follow that individual monks retained personal taxation liability along with the legal title over their lands. An impulse to communal response to taxation was however already present elsewhere in third century society – at least one large estate arranged for the collective payment of taxes and a coordinated response to liturgical obligations for its employees¹⁵ – such an arrangement would seem logical for monastic communities, but we have no evidence that they adopted anything similar in the early period.

We can see individual monks acquiring and owning property in the fourth-century papyri. The *Letter of Pachomius* assume the same applied for monasteries as well. We may well be dealing here with the way the compilers of the *Letter* remembered earlier events, perhaps casting them in terms with which they were familiar. Even in that case, we should start seeing evidence for similar practices in the papyri near the end of the fourth century. So why do we not? Why do we not find, for instance, receipts for tax made out to monasteries, or monasteries listed as landholders? Papers proving ownership of land, or detailing its acquisition, might also be expected.

I am not inclined to think that this is a true lacuna in the papyri, i.e. that we have lost a whole class of papyri recording monastic tax payers and landholders. But it may also be that such are not explicitly signalled and are thus unrecognized in those we do have.

We might elucidate this by considering the nature of our papyri documenting monasticism in the fourth century, and whence they come. One of the useful facts that characterizes monastic documentation from the later period is that a lot of it either was, or demonstrably must have been, found *in situ* in the ruins of monasteries, one thinks of Hawari or the core documentation of some of the Thelban monasteries. When we look at the fourth-century documentation, we have no such certainty. We cannot, in fact, be certain that any of the fourth-century papyri which deal with monasticism were

¹⁰ See among the fourth-century papyri *SB XVI 8872* (A.S. 320), *SB XVI 8873* (A.S. 321), *SB XVI 8901* (A.S. 321), and perhaps *SB XVI 1450* (A.S. 321). A receipt for payment by a priest for a *synaxis* – *SB XVI 8861* (A.S. 321), *SB XVI 8862* (A.S. 321), *SB XVI 8863* (A.S. 321).

¹¹ *SB XVI 1441* is an example of a receipt for a donation to a monastery by the pious of monks who had a village.

¹² Explicit evidence of such donations of property to a monastery comes only later, e.g. *PG 100* (Migne, II, 672B) (Antiochopolis, 368), *SB XVI 1441* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8861* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8862* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8863* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8864* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8865* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8866* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8867* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8868* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8869* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8870* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8871* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8872* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8873* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8874* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8875* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8876* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8877* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8878* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8879* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8880* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8881* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8882* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8883* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8884* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8885* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8886* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8887* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8888* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8889* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8890* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8891* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8892* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8893* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8894* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8895* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8896* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8897* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8898* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8899* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8900* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8901* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8902* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8903* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8904* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8905* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8906* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8907* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8908* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8909* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8910* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8911* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8912* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8913* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8914* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8915* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8916* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8917* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8918* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8919* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8920* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8921* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8922* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8923* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8924* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8925* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8926* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8927* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8928* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8929* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8930* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8931* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8932* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8933* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8934* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8935* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8936* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8937* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8938* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8939* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8940* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8941* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8942* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8943* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8944* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8945* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8946* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8947* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8948* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8949* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8950* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8951* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8952* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8953* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8954* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8955* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8956* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8957* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8958* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8959* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8960* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8961* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8962* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8963* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8964* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8965* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8966* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8967* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8968* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8969* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8970* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8971* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8972* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8973* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8974* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8975* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8976* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8977* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8978* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8979* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8980* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8981* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8982* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8983* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8984* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8985* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8986* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8987* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8988* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8989* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8990* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8991* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8992* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8993* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8994* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8995* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8996* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8997* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8998* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 8999* (Antiochopolis, 370), *SB XVI 9000* (Antiochopolis, 370).

¹³ For the necessity of examining the broader context created with landholding, see Wipszky, 1996, 1997, 1998.

¹⁴ *SB XVI 1451*, see above, at n. 12. For later evidence, see e.g. *SB XVI 1452*, *SB XVI 1453*, *SB XVI 1454*, *SB XVI 1455*.

¹⁵ For later times, see e.g. the many papyri with evidence for some of the Thelban monasteries in *SB XVI 1456*, *SB XVI 1457*, *SB XVI 1458*, *SB XVI 1459*, *SB XVI 1460*, *SB XVI 1461*, *SB XVI 1462*, *SB XVI 1463*, *SB XVI 1464*, *SB XVI 1465*, *SB XVI 1466*, *SB XVI 1467*, *SB XVI 1468*, *SB XVI 1469*, *SB XVI 1470*, *SB XVI 1471*, *SB XVI 1472*, *SB XVI 1473*, *SB XVI 1474*, *SB XVI 1475*, *SB XVI 1476*, *SB XVI 1477*, *SB XVI 1478*, *SB XVI 1479*, *SB XVI 1480*, *SB XVI 1481*, *SB XVI 1482*, *SB XVI 1483*, *SB XVI 1484*, *SB XVI 1485*, *SB XVI 1486*, *SB XVI 1487*, *SB XVI 1488*, *SB XVI 1489*, *SB XVI 1490*, *SB XVI 1491*, *SB XVI 1492*, *SB XVI 1493*, *SB XVI 1494*, *SB XVI 1495*, *SB XVI 1496*, *SB XVI 1497*, *SB XVI 1498*, *SB XVI 1499*, *SB XVI 1500*, *SB XVI 1501*, *SB XVI 1502*, *SB XVI 1503*, *SB XVI 1504*, *SB XVI 1505*, *SB XVI 1506*, *SB XVI 1507*, *SB XVI 1508*, *SB XVI 1509*, *SB XVI 1510*, *SB XVI 1511*, *SB XVI 1512*, *SB XVI 1513*, *SB XVI 1514*, *SB XVI 1515*, *SB XVI 1516*, *SB XVI 1517*, *SB XVI 1518*, *SB XVI 1519*, *SB XVI 1520*, *SB XVI 1521*, *SB XVI 1522*, *SB XVI 1523*, *SB XVI 1524*, *SB XVI 1525*, *SB XVI 1526*, *SB XVI 1527*, *SB XVI 1528*, *SB XVI 1529*, *SB XVI 1530*, *SB XVI 1531*, *SB XVI 1532*, *SB XVI 1533*, *SB XVI 1534*, *SB XVI 1535*, *SB XVI 1536*, *SB XVI 1537*, *SB XVI 1538*, *SB XVI 1539*, *SB XVI 1540*, *SB XVI 1541*, *SB XVI 1542*, *SB XVI 1543*, *SB XVI 1544*, *SB XVI 1545*, *SB XVI 1546*, *SB XVI 1547*, *SB XVI 1548*, *SB XVI 1549*, *SB XVI 1550*, *SB XVI 1551*, *SB XVI 1552*, *SB XVI 1553*, *SB XVI 1554*, *SB XVI 1555*, *SB XVI 1556*, *SB XVI 1557*, *SB XVI 1558*, *SB XVI 1559*, *SB XVI 1560*, *SB XVI 1561*, *SB XVI 1562*, *SB XVI 1563*, *SB XVI 1564*, *SB XVI 1565*, *SB XVI 1566*, *SB XVI 1567*, *SB XVI 1568*, *SB XVI 1569*, *SB XVI 1570*, *SB XVI 1571*, *SB XVI 1572*, *SB XVI 1573*, *SB XVI 1574*, *SB XVI 1575*, *SB XVI 1576*, *SB XVI 1577*, *SB XVI 1578*, *SB XVI 1579*, *SB XVI 1580*, *SB XVI 1581*, *SB XVI 1582*, *SB XVI 1583*, *SB XVI 1584*, *SB XVI 1585*, *SB XVI 1586*, *SB XVI 1587*, *SB XVI 1588*, *SB XVI 1589*, *SB XVI 1590*, *SB XVI 1591*, *SB XVI 1592*, *SB XVI 1593*, *SB XVI 1594*, *SB XVI 1595*, *SB XVI 1596*, *SB XVI 1597*, *SB XVI 1598*, *SB XVI 1599*, *SB XVI 1600*, *SB XVI 1601*, *SB XVI 1602*, *SB XVI 1603*, *SB XVI 1604*, *SB XVI 1605*, *SB XVI 1606*, *SB XVI 1607*, *SB XVI 1608*, *SB XVI 1609*, *SB XVI 1610*, *SB XVI 1611*, *SB XVI 1612*, *SB XVI 1613*, *SB XVI 1614*, *SB XVI 1615*, *SB XVI 1616*, *SB XVI 1617*, *SB XVI 1618*, *SB XVI 1619*, *SB XVI 1620*, *SB XVI 1621*, *SB XVI 1622*, *SB XVI 1623*, *SB XVI 1624*, *SB XVI 1625*, *SB XVI 1626*, *SB XVI 1627*, *SB XVI 1628*, *SB XVI 1629*, *SB XVI 1630*, *SB XVI 1631*, *SB XVI 1632*, *SB XVI 1633*, *SB XVI 1634*, *SB XVI 1635*, *SB XVI 1636*, *SB XVI 1637*, *SB XVI 1638*, *SB XVI 1639*, *SB XVI 1640*, *SB XVI 1641*, *SB XVI 1642*, *SB XVI 1643*, *SB XVI 1644*, *SB XVI 1645*, *SB XVI 1646*, *SB XVI 1647*, *SB XVI 1648*, *SB XVI 1649*, *SB XVI 1650*, *SB XVI 1651*, *SB XVI 1652*, *SB XVI 1653*, *SB XVI 1654*, *SB XVI 1655*, *SB XVI 1656*, *SB XVI 1657*, *SB XVI 1658*, *SB XVI 1659*, *SB XVI 1660*, *SB XVI 1661*, *SB XVI 1662*, *SB XVI 1663*, *SB XVI 1664*, *SB XVI 1665*, *SB XVI 1666*, *SB XVI 1667*, *SB XVI 1668*, *SB XVI 1669*, *SB XVI 1670*, *SB XVI 1671*, *SB XVI 1672*, *SB XVI 1673*, *SB XVI 1674*, *SB XVI 1675*, *SB XVI 1676*, *SB XVI 1677*, *SB XVI 1678*, *SB XVI 1679*, *SB XVI 1680*, *SB XVI 1681*, *SB XVI 1682*, *SB XVI 1683*, *SB XVI 1684*, *SB XVI 1685*, *SB XVI 1686*, *SB XVI 1687*, *SB XVI 1688*, *SB XVI 1689*, *SB XVI 1690*, *SB XVI 1691*, *SB XVI 1692*, *SB XVI 1693*, *SB XVI 1694*, *SB XVI 1695*, *SB XVI 1696*, *SB XVI 1697*, *SB XVI 1698*, *SB XVI 1699*, *SB XVI 1700*, *SB XVI 1701*, *SB XVI 1702*, *SB XVI 1703*, *SB XVI 1704*, *SB XVI 1705*, *SB XVI 1706*, *SB XVI 1707*, *SB XVI 1708*, *SB XVI 1709*, *SB XVI 1710*, *SB XVI 1711*, *SB XVI 1712*, *SB XVI 1713*, *SB XVI 1714*, *SB XVI 1715*, *SB XVI 1716*, *SB XVI 1717*, *SB XVI 1718*, *SB XVI 1719*, *SB XVI 1720*, *SB XVI 1721*, *SB XVI 1722*, *SB XVI 1723*, *SB XVI 1724*, *SB XVI 1725*, *SB XVI 1726*, *SB XVI 1727*, *SB XVI 1728*, *SB XVI 1729*, *SB XVI 1730*, *SB XVI 1731*, *SB XVI 1732*, *SB XVI 1733*, *SB XVI 1734*, *SB XVI 1735*, *SB XVI 1736*, *SB XVI 1737*, *SB XVI 1738*, *SB XVI 1739*, *SB XVI 1740*, *SB XVI 1741*, *SB XVI 1742*, *SB XVI 1743*, *SB XVI 1744*, *SB XVI 1745*, *SB XVI 1746*, *SB XVI 1747*, *SB XVI 1748*, *SB XVI 1749*, *SB XVI 1750*, *SB XVI 1751*, *SB XVI 1752*, *SB XVI 1753*, *SB XVI 1754*, *SB XVI 1755*, *SB XVI 1756*, *SB XVI 1757*, *SB XVI 1758*, *SB XVI 1759*, *SB XVI 1760*, *SB XVI 1761*, *SB XVI 1762*, *SB XVI 1763*, *SB XVI 1764*, *SB XVI 1765*, *SB XVI 1766*, *SB XVI 1767*, *SB XVI 1768*, *SB XVI 1769*, *SB XVI 1770*, *SB XVI 1771*, *SB XVI 1772*, *SB XVI 1773*, *SB XVI 1774*, *SB XVI 1775*, *SB XVI 1776*, *SB XVI 1777*, *SB XVI 1778*, *SB XVI 1779*, *SB XVI 1780*, *SB XVI 1781*, *SB XVI 1782*, *SB XVI 1783*, *SB XVI 1784*, *SB XVI 1785*, *SB XVI 1786*, *SB XVI 1787*, *SB XVI 1788*, *SB XVI 1789*, *SB XVI 1790*, *SB XVI 1791*, *SB XVI 1792*, *SB XVI 1793*, *SB XVI 1794*, *SB XVI 1795*, *SB XVI 1796*, *SB XVI 1797*, *SB XVI 1798*, *SB XVI 1799*, *SB XVI 1800*, *SB XVI 1801*, *SB XVI 1802*, *SB XVI 1803*, *SB XVI 1804*, *SB XVI 1805*, *SB XVI 1806*, *SB XVI 1807*, *SB XVI 1808*, *SB XVI 1809*, *SB XVI 1810*, *SB XVI 1811*, *SB XVI 1812*, *SB XVI 1813*, *SB XVI 1814*, *SB XVI 1815*, *SB XVI 1816*, *SB XVI 1817*, *SB XVI 1818*, *SB XVI 1819*, *SB XVI 1820*, *SB XVI 1821*, *SB XVI 1822*, *SB XVI 1823*, *SB XVI 1824*, *SB XVI 1825*, *SB XVI 1826*, *SB XVI 1827*, *SB XVI 1828*, *SB XVI 1829*, *SB XVI 1830*, *SB XVI 1831*, *SB XVI 1832*, *SB XVI 1833*, *SB XVI 1834*, *SB XVI 1835*, *SB XVI 1836*, *SB XVI 1837*, *SB XVI 1838*, *SB XVI 1839*, *SB XVI 1840*, *SB XVI 1841*, *SB XVI 1842*, *SB XVI 1843*, *SB XVI 1844*, *SB XVI 1845*, *SB XVI 1846*, *SB XVI 1847*, *SB XVI 1848*, *SB XVI 1849*, *SB XVI 1850*, *SB XVI 1851*, *SB XVI 1852*, *SB XVI 1853*, *SB XVI 1854*, *SB XVI 1855*, *SB XVI 1856*, *SB XVI 1857*, *SB XVI 1858*, *SB XVI 1859*, *SB XVI 1860*, *SB XVI 1861*, *SB XVI 1862*, *SB XVI 1863*, *SB XVI 1864*, *SB XVI 1865*, *SB XVI 1866*, *SB XVI 1867*, *SB XVI 1868*, *SB XVI 1869*, *SB XVI 1870*, *SB XVI 1871*, *SB XVI 1872*, *SB XVI 1873*, *SB XVI 1874*, *SB XVI 1875*, *SB XVI 1876*, *SB XVI 1877*, *SB XVI 1878*, *SB XVI 1879*, *SB XVI 1880*, *SB XVI 1881*, *SB XVI 1882*, *SB XVI 1883*, *SB XVI 1884*, *SB XVI 1885*, *SB XVI 1886*, *SB XVI 1887*, *SB XVI 1888*, *SB XVI 1889*, *SB XVI 1890*, *SB XVI 1891*, *SB XVI 1892*, *SB XVI 1893*, *SB XVI 1894*, *SB XVI 1895*, *SB XVI 1896*, *SB XVI 1897*, *SB XVI 1898*, *SB XVI 1899*, *SB XVI 1900*, *SB XVI 1901*, *SB XVI 1902*, *SB XVI 1903*, *SB XVI 1904*, *SB XVI 1905*, *SB XVI 1906*, *SB XVI 1907*, *SB XVI 1908*, *SB XVI 1909*, *SB XVI 1910*, *SB XVI 1911*, *SB XVI 1912*, *SB XVI 1913*, *SB XVI 1914*, *SB XVI 1915*, *SB XVI 1916*, *SB XVI 1917*, *SB XVI 1918*, *SB XVI 1919*, *SB XVI 1920*, *SB XVI 1921*, *SB XVI 1922*, *SB XVI 1923*, *SB XVI 1924*, *SB XVI 1925*, *SB XVI 1926*, *SB XVI 1927*, *SB XVI 1928*, *SB XVI 1929*, *SB XVI 1930*, *SB XVI 1931*, *SB XVI 1932*, *SB XVI 1933*, *SB XVI 1934*, *SB XVI 1935*, *SB XVI 1936*, *SB XVI 1937*, *SB XVI 1938*, *SB XVI 1939*, *SB XVI 1940*, *SB XVI 1941*, *SB XVI 1942*, *SB XVI 1943*, *SB XVI 1944*, *SB XVI 1945*, *SB XVI 1946*, *SB XVI 1947*, *SB XVI 1948*, *SB XVI 1949*, *SB XVI 1950*, *SB XVI 1951*, *SB XVI 1952*, *SB XVI 1953*, *SB XVI 1954*, *SB XVI 1955*, *SB XVI 1956*, *SB XVI 1957*, *SB XVI 1958*, *SB XVI 1959*, *SB XVI 1960*, *SB XVI 1961*, *SB XVI 1962*, *SB XVI 1963*, *SB XVI 1964*, *SB XVI 1965*, *SB XVI 1966*, *SB XVI 1967*, *SB XVI 1968*, *SB XVI 1969*, *SB XVI 1970*, *SB XVI 1971*, *SB XVI 1972*, *SB XVI 1973*, *SB XVI 1974*, *SB XVI 1975*, *SB XVI 1976*, *SB XVI 1977*, *SB XVI 1978*, *SB XVI 1979*, *SB XVI 1980*, *SB XVI 1981*, *SB XVI 1982*, *SB XVI 1983*, *SB XVI 1984*, *SB XVI 1985*, *SB XVI 1986*, *SB XVI 1987*, *SB XVI 1988*, *SB XVI 1989*, *SB XVI 1990*, *SB XVI 1991*, *SB XVI 1992*, *SB XVI 1993*, *SB XVI 1994*, *SB XVI 1995*, *SB XVI 1996*, *SB XVI 1997*, *SB XVI 1998*, *SB XVI 1999*, *SB XVI 2000*, *SB XVI 2001*, *SB XVI 2002*, *SB XVI 2003*, *SB XVI 2004*, *SB XVI 2005*, *SB XVI 2006*, *SB XVI 2007*, *SB XVI 2008*, *SB XVI 2009*, *SB XVI 2010*, *SB XVI 2011*, *SB XVI 2012*, *SB XVI 2013*, *SB XVI 2014*, *SB XVI 2015*, *SB XVI 2016*, *SB XVI 2017*, *SB XVI 2018*, <

found in monasteries, that is the reasonable presumption, of course, in the case of the large archives of Pateros, Nephros, and Johannes. But they could have been already discarded in more communal dumps.

By my own count, around 200 papyri dated IV or IV A document monasterism in some way or another.¹⁰ "Around" encodes a number of variables, which could subtract from this number: insecure terminology and Coptic palaeography are sticky waxes. Of these papyri, over three quarters are personal letters. Many are to monks, but quite a number are casual mentions, the *proteroi* do not like the cheese in *P.Hunt. II 19*, for example.

As I mentioned, it is not unlikely that the well-known archives were found in the ruins of monasteries. But not many of the other texts mentioning monks or monasteries are likely to have been found in such, and the majority of the better-known texts were demonstrably not: the find-spot of the Kellis Agricultural Account book is known precisely; statements to officials such as the petitions *P.Oxy. 3311* and *P.Liv. XII 17*¹¹ were have remained with their originators; if drafts or been in official archives it sent, records such as *P.Hort. i. r. p. 1* or *MS XXXI 15311* will have been in the hands of an official somewhere. Beyond that we have lists, declarations, or orders where monks appear incidentally as third parties.¹² The deed of appointment *P.Liv. XI 3913* must have been with Pateros' papers at Hathor, but aside from this we have only a small group of texts which are at all likely to have been in the possession of monks, or at least a copy of the same text: the adoption document *P.Lip. 28*, the lease *P.Oxy. XLV 3203*, the sale contract *P.Veph. 45*, perhaps the fragmentary *P.Veph. 49*.

It is notable that the documents most explicitly attesting the monasteries of Hathor were not acquired as part of the main purchase of texts in the Nephros archive, but found their way to Heidelberg separately.¹³ Among the first 42 items of *P.Veph.* (the 'archive' proper) we have a number of non-epistolary pieces, evidently from the same source according to the dealers.¹⁴ There are several texts which must easily read as being associated with the monastery or being generated within it: *P.Veph. 17*, on the back of *P.Veph. 2*, for instance. For texts with no obvious connection to the archive (27, 29, 34, 38), one can make suggestions, and the editors do, as to how they may have been in the monastery.¹⁵ But other possibilities then arise, such as a communal dump with the nearby village of Neos, or papyri purchased for reuse, might better explain some of the more random elements.

Excluding the famous archives, then, most of the early documents mentioning monks or monasteries either come through the antiquities market with no security indication of provenance, or derive from undifferentiated large-scale excavation, either privately or publicly, from dumps.

Of those texts which we can say are most likely to have been found in monasteries, the archives of Pateros, Nephros, and Johannes, the core documentation seems to be letters. Is it then the case that these were all that were kept in the monasteries at this period? Or that we have found only the private

¹⁰ It includes 194 items which mention either monks or monasteries or can be argued to do so in any way. Previous treatments are, e.g. *Klassische Altertumskunde* (updating).

¹¹ *P.Oxy. 3311*, *Lip. 17*.

¹² *P.Oxy. 3311* (overlaid on *Lip. 17*); *III 190*, *VI 61*, *Oxy. 3311*, *P.Hunt. 2*, *163*, *Straton*, *391*, *39*, *XX 15390* (overlaid on *IV*).

¹³ E.g. *P.Veph. 45* and *49*, compare *P.Oxy. 3203* (Lebanon, c. 390) and *3352* (resp.) with those of the rest of the archive on the *P.Liv. 3913*, *P.Veph. 17*.

¹⁴ See *P.Veph.* *Intro.* p. 1.

¹⁵ See *P.Veph.* *Intro.* op. cit.

archives of some of these monks, the letters written to the heads of these monasteries.' It is possible that these were kept in later generations, and other documents were thrown out.¹ But if they were thrown out, then why have we not found any?

Or is it possible that they were found along with the letters, but not recognised as being associated with them, because they did not mention monks or monasteries? (Non-exhaustive) searches of what else turned up in the British Museum and American collections who were purchasing in collaboration with it in 1923 and 1924 have so far failed to reveal anything else which looks like it may have come from the monastery of Hathor and been found with the letters to Ptolemy. I have also looked in the John Rylands University Library for documents other than letters which may have been associated with whatever monastery Apa Johannes inhabited. The search has so far proved time-consuming and fruitless, in part because many of texts remain unpublished. One might hope that, in the case of the Ptolemy archive, Hell who undertook the initial description of these papyri would have noticed anything that seemed to be associated with the archive.

We are driven back to the suggestion that monks were not regularly identifying themselves as such in transactions concerning tax and land in the period. Thinking thus we might allow ourselves to see Paphnuthis son of Kollouthos, who pays tax on land he is responsible for in *P.Nephth.* 27, as a monk from Hathor.² The state had, however, always been prepared to accept an occupation, cult or otherwise, as an identifier, with or without a patronymic, and as *protypos* can be used in public documents by the 320's³ and *metatytos* the same by the late 340's.⁴ This holds some weight, but not much.

We should also consider the possibility that monasteries were already acting through agents, but no fourth-century papyrological evidence for the *synagoge* or *diakonia* that we see in later texts⁵ is obvious. They might be there, but if so they are operating on behalf of monasteries without giving any explicit signal that this is what they are doing.

In the end, it is best to retain some agnosticism about the question. Our best fourth-century source, *P.Herm.Landl*, still lists only the landholders for a small percentage of the Hermopolite, and other documentation is scattered. That we do not have evidence for any particular practice cannot be used as proof that it did not occur.

As the evidence stands, however, I would tentatively suggest that even within monastic federations, it remained common in the fourth century for monks to take individual responsibility for their lands and the taxes on them, even if they were worked by other monks. Such cannot be disproved from the contemporary literary record, as the Pachonian material exhibits some vagueness on the exact arrangements as concerned the status of the land brought to the community and how it was represented to the state. While some evasiveness might be understandable given that the writers and actors were part of a fundamentally renunciatory movement, it is nevertheless notable that there are no detailed

¹ Of course, as the editors note, that *P.Nephth.* 27 is clearly a copy might indicate it related to a dispute that Nephthos was asked to adjudicate on.

² *P.Ol.* VII 171.

³ *P.Herm.Landl* 6.508 f. 522.

⁴ See, e.g., 200 f. 192 ff. such officials were usually monks or clerics themselves, as he makes clear at 143, where a summary of terminology which extended beyond the two roles cited here can also be found—see also Wipszycka 1952: 115ff.

instructions in the Pachomian Rules on how to handle taxation, or stories involving encounters with tax collectors in the *Encheiridion* nor are the *Encheiridion* particularly interested in the details of Petronius' property once he brought it to the *koinonion*.¹ Indeed, what "must have happened" are more frequently put forward than actual evidence on these matters. While the Pachomians clearly appropriated "deserted" land in the vicinity of Pbow, "the *Encheiridion* does not dwell on how taxation on this land was assessed or paid."² If, as has been suggested, they assisted villagers in meeting their tax-burden, perhaps we are on the way to monasteries asserting a status of their own in a taxation situation. Monastic lands were not tax exempt,³ and it is only natural that grant-productive monastic land would attract taxation.

The legal situation regarding corporate ownership of monastic property, and its taxation may only have been clarified in later centuries.⁴ In these circumstances, individual responsibility for property may have proved easier for the State to comprehend and simpler for monks and their monasteries to administer. It is only as we move into the fifth and following centuries, when the fame of monasticism had spread and people were familiar with the existence and concept of monasteries, that the monasteries themselves began putting their name to lands they held in their own right, and paying taxes on them as such.

REFERENCES

- Baginall, R. S. (1993). *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Baginall, R. S. (2003). "Monks and Property: Rhetoric, Law, and Patronage in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the Papyri." *Journal of Roman and Byzantine Studies* 42, 1–24.
- Baginall, R. S. and Worp, K. A. (2006). *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2nd edn). Leiden: Brill.
- Barison, P. (1988). "Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino ed arabo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci." *L'egipto* 18, 29–149.
- Cadell, H. and Remondin, R. (1967). "Sens et emplois de το ὄνομα dans les documents papyrologiques." *Revue des études égyptologiques* 30, 323–347.
- Chou, M. (2002). "Terms for 'Monk' in Late Antique Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122, 1–23.

¹ Cf. above, n. 2.

² The Pachomian monks testified by the accounts of the life of Isenarius (1996, 147 p).

³ *Encheiridion* 1908b, 1811.

⁴ *Encheiridion* 1908b, 178.

⁵ Baginall (2003, 2005).

⁶ *Encheiridion* 1908b, 1830.

⁷ The corporate legal personality was not necessarily a familiar concept in Graeco-Roman law; see Taubenschlag (1955, 87–88, esp. 88–89) and Chou (forthcoming).

- Fournier, J.-L. and Gasco, J. (2002) "Moines pachômien et batelliers," in: C. Décobert, (ed.) *Hérodote archéologie* 2. *Études archéologiques* 8, Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Gardner, I. (2000) "He has gone to the Monastery," in: Emmertick, R. E., Sundermann, W. and Zieme, B. (eds.) *Studia Monachica*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 247-57.
- Gascon, J. (1976) "P. Fouad 57. Les monastères pachômiens et l'État byzantin," *BIFAO* 76, 157-184.
- Gascon, J. (1985) "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine," *Trav. Mem.* 9, 1-90.
- Gascon, J. (1994) *Excavating Social Hierarchies at P. Narkhi II 690*, Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Goehring, J. E. (1999) *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism*, Harrisburg: Trinity Press International.
- Goehring, J. E. (1999a) "Through a Glass Darkly: Diverse Images of the 'Anchoretos' in Early Egyptian Monasticism," in: Goehring 1999, 53-72.
- Goehring, J. E. (1999b) "The World Engaged: The Social and Economic World of Early Egyptian Monasticism," in: Goehring 1999, 39-52.
- Goehring, J. E. (1999c) "Withdrawing from the Desert: Bishops and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt," in: Goehring 1999, 89-109.
- Gomis, S. (2003) "Ship-owners and Shoppers in Fourth-Century Oxyrhynchus," *ZPE* 143, 163-165.
- Halkin, F. (ed.) (1932) *S. Pachôme: Lettres Grécques*, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
- Krause, M. (1983) "Zur Möglichkeit von Besitz im apotaktischen Mönchtum Ägyptens," in: Orlandi, I. and Wisse, F. (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Rome: C.I.M., 121-131.
- Lefort, J.-Th. (ed.) (1925) *S. Pachôme: Lettres Latines*, Scriptae, Paris: F. Typographes Républicains.
- Lefort, J.-Th. (ed.) (1934) *S. Pachôme: Lettres Syriennes*, Scriptae, Paris: F. Typographes Républicains.
- Lefort, J.-Th. (1943) *Les Exemplaires de saint Pachôme et de ses premiers successeurs*, Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon.
- Lefort, J.-Th. (ed.) (1956) *Édition de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, Louvain: L. Durboeq.
- MacDonald, S. B. (1994) "The Bawit Contracts: Texts and Translations," *BASP* 31, 141-158.
- Rathbone, D. (1991) *Learnings, Ruralization and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heronias, Techné and the Apollonios Estate*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rémondou, R. (1971) "Le monastère alexandrin de la Melanoma était-il bénéficiaire du fisc ou à son service?" in: *Studi in onore di Edvardo Cichetta*, Volume 5, Milan: A. Grafre, 769-781.
- Rousseau, P. (1999) *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (2nd edn.), Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schmelz, G. (2002) *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*, Munich-Leipzig: K.G. Saur.

- Steinwenter, A. (1930) "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Kloster nach den Papyri," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 50: 1-84.
- Taubenschlag, R. (1955) *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 352 H.C. 640-110. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Thomas, J. and Constantinides-Hero, A. (edst) (2000) *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*. *Byzantine and Greek Studies* 35. Washington D.C.
- Verilleux, A. (1980) *Pachomius' Economy*, vol. 1. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications.
- Wipszycka, J. (1972) *Les possessions et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte de l'IV^e au VII^e siècle*. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Wipszycka, J. (1974) "Les terres de la Congrégation pachomienne dans une liste de paiements pour les aporia," in: Bingen, F., Cambry, C. and Nageleisen, G. (eds) *Le monde grec. Pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claude Périsse*. Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université, 625-636.
- Wipszycka, J. (1986) "Contribution à l'étude de l'économie de la congrégation pachomienne," *JHE* 26, 167-210.
- Wipszycka, J. (2001) "Αγοραπωλησις, ἐμπορευσις, ἐκποιήσεως, ἀναποικιστικὸς," *JHE* 31, 147-168.
- Worp, K. A. (1993) "SB XIV 14972 ff. A: Eine Neuedition," *JHE* 29, 29-54.

CONVERSION RELIGIEUSE DANS UN GRAFFITO DE BAQUT ? REVISION DE SB III 6042

JAN-LUC LÉVESQUE

Il est certain que le graffito dont je vais parler est aussi peu attiré l'attention des historiens du premier Islam en Égypte. Son contenu est pourtant, d'après l'édition et le commentaire qui en a été fait, exceptionnel. Seule, à ma connaissance, Sarah C. Jackson s'y était intéressée et nous avions eu tous deux l'occasion d'en parler en 2001, lors d'une visite que j'avais faite à Cambridge.

Il s'agit de l'inscription 222 de J. Maspéro (1932, p. 99 (1943, pl. XXV) et reprise dans le *Synonymon* *h* des papyrologues (II 6042). Elle a été trouvée sur la paroi ouest de la salle 6. Voici le texte tel qu'il est édité, accompagné d'une reproduction de la photographie.

ⲉⲩ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ
ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ
ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁ



Donné sans traduction, il est néanmoins commenté par son inventeur, J. Maspéro, dans l'introduction, p. VIII. Un autre graffito mérite aussi une mention spéciale. D'après l'écriture, il est sans doute du

Je tiens à remercier tout particulièrement Jean-Michel Mouragues pour ses suggestions, ses conseils bibliographiques et sa relecture.

¹ Je tire plutôt sur la photographie que sur l'édition (Vissari).

La première objection est soulevée par Sarah elle-même : la présence de cette déclaration de conversion à l'islam dans un haut lieu du christianisme égyptien, en pleine prospérité, paraît quelque peu étrange, d'autant plus qu'elle est placée sous la protection du "Seigneur Dieu, Jésus-Christ" (I, 1-2). De plus, la encore, la formulation de l'inscription oblige à conclure à une double conversion du fils et du père, ce qui est peu vraisemblable. Enfin, l'oxymore s'oppose à cette interprétation. Manger, loin d'être chrétien, est un anthroposyme arabe (Muḥammīd). En outre, il est difficile de voir dans *Abū* («seigneur») un nom arabe dont le premier élément serait *Abū*, normalement transcrit en grec *Abou*. En revanche, *Abū* («seigneur») a tous les caractères d'une *magnum* *Seigneur*, même si l'identification du toponyme fait encore problème.

Je propose donc de reprendre le graffiti ligne à ligne, d'après la photographie du livre de J. Maspero puisqu'il est aujourd'hui détruit.

Le passe sur les deux premières lignes, inscriptions chrétiennes banales. La 1^{re} est écrite par Maspero avec un blanc entre *notre* et *secours* comme s'il comprenait "Hoceth fils d'Ageneç." Ce graffiti comprendrait alors la signature de trois personnages (Hoceth, Georges et Monger). Cette solution se heurte à plusieurs objections. 1) Hoceth est un hapax. 2) Ageneç est un nom certes existant, mais dont le gentilé, quand il est décliné, est en *-os* et non en *-os*.¹ 3) on est en droit de se demander pourquoi l'auteur du graffiti n'a pas sous-tendu le patronyme par *-os* comme il le fait ailleurs, 4) enfin on constate qu'un trait a été tiré entre les 1^{re} et 8^{es} comme pour séparer les noms de Georges et de Monger. Ainsi il y aurait-il que deux signataires dans cette inscription. La 1^{re} la 3^e comme les trois autres des deux lignes précédentes en offrant une forme très courante de l'expression [h]apheç y voo² 'sois notre secours'. Je salue même toute pour rendre compte de toutes les lettres, il y a un 1^{er} expression à peu près similaire [h]apheç y voo avec chute du 1^{er} et inversé des b et v, dont je ne connais qu'un seul exemple provenant de Jordanie dans un contexte un peu différent.³ Cette interprétation est confirmée par un autre graffiti de Baouit misae dans la même salle 6, le n° 228 du recueil de J. Maspero en y lit, après une liste de noms nominaux, pour y voo⁴ 'sois leur secours [h]apheç y voo'. Il est possible que dans notre inscription les noms de personnes qui suivent, quoiqu'au nominatif, dépendent de cette verbeance "sois le secours de".

Le reste de l'inscription rédigé par la même main, donne donc les noms de deux personnes en visite au monastère, séparés par un trait.

147 Frohne-Hagemann, G. and G. Hagemann: *Medizinische Mikrobiologie*, 1998.

For example, let us consider the case ℓ^2 and $\mathcal{Y} = \mathcal{X} = C[0, 1]$.

1. M. Montefiore a qu'on le surnomme *le tyran espagnol*, est, en réalité, un *tyran* allemand et Ruyter ne nous en dit rien. Il *l'aurait* dit, mais il n'a pas voulu. On a dit aussi qu'il était *un* *tyran* espagnol, mais c'est impossible. Le tyran s'appelle Solís, et Ruyter est comme de l'acier, mais du personnel, en même temps, et il n'a rien dit de cela, et si on le lui reproche, on s'attend à ce que Montefiore, comme nous le faisons, en fasse un *tyran* espagnol, et qu'il en fasse un *tyran* allemand.

Le sens du déterminant 1-Derrière, qui exprime une détermination unique, la composition du singulier du nom masculin «1» pour se lire dans l'1 exemple *1-Derrière* est 1-1800-234-2-237-1-10-144-1-1000-9.

¹ $(1 - \gamma) \ln M + \ln \gamma + \ln \left(\frac{1}{1 - \gamma} \right) = \ln M + \ln \gamma - \ln(1 - \gamma)$
$$f: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n, \quad f(x) = \begin{pmatrix} x_1 + x_2 \\ x_2 + x_3 \\ \vdots \\ x_{n-1} + x_n \end{pmatrix}$$

¹ *Revista Nacional de Matemática*, VIII, 1, (junho de 1962), p. 57; ver D. J. Waisel, *ibid.*, p. 2060, n. 98. Faisel, 2000, p. 570. Ver, ainda, os artigos de J. J. Schreier, *ibid.*, VIII, 1, 468-1-3 e de J. J. Schreier, *ibid.*, VIII, 1, 469-1-3.

Je propose donc de lire et de comprendre le graffiti de la façon suivante :

- 1 ⲙⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲣⲁⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲑⲉⲟⲩⲥ
- 2 ⲓⲩⲉⲣⲁⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲡⲉⲣⲁⲩⲥ
- 3 ⲃⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲣ ⲉⲛⲁⲟⲩ
- 4 ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲥ
- 5 ⲩⲉⲣⲁⲩⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲁⲩⲥ
- 6 ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲃⲟⲩⲉⲧⲁⲩ
- 7 ⲓⲉⲛⲥ ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲁⲩⲥ
- 8 ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲥⲁⲣⲁⲩⲥ
- 9 ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲩⲁⲩⲥ
- 10 ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲩⲥ ⲩⲁⲩⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ

1. ⲙⲓⲣⲁⲡⲉⲣⲁⲩⲥ | 2. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲁⲟⲩⲥ | 3. ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲁⲩⲥ | 4. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲁⲩⲁⲩⲥ | 5. ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲁⲩⲁⲩⲥ | 6. ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩⲥ | 7. ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ | 8. ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲩⲥ | 9. ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥ | 10. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲩⲥ

*Sergene, l'heure d'entre d'entre nous, notre sergent, l'heure du fils du défunt
Sergon, mawla d'Isidore, fils d'Am, Mosage, fils du défunt l'égien, originaire
de Naloua*

Ce graffiti ne pourra donc plus être utilisé pour étudier les phénomènes de conversion religieuse dans l'Égypte omeyyade. Il peut à tout le moins être le témoignage plus modeste de ce que des musulmans visitaient aussi les lieux saints chrétiens et, au même titre que les pèlerins chrétiens, pouvaient y laisser leur signature en souvenir. Notons cependant que le premier nom, celui du pèlerin, a qui l'on doit très probablement l'inscription, est manifestement porté par un chrétien. Il aura visité le monastère d'Apollon en compagnie d'un cantarade d'une autre religion, dont il aura tenu à graver le nom en même temps que le sien.

Quoique ramener à un contenu *a priori* banal, cette inscription en prend pas moins une dimension historique insoupçonnée. Tout d'abord, elle n'est pas sans intérêt sur l'institution du *mawla* qui lie le *mawla* à son patron (appelé aussi "*mawla* ouperru")¹. Cette dernière est avant tout connue sous deux formes, le patronat par affranchissement et celui par conversion à l'islam. Or le *mawla* de l'inscription n'appartient à aucun des deux : la mention de son patronyme ne permet guère d'y voir un affranchi ; son nom et celui de son père ainsi que le fait qu'il se place sous la protection du Dieu des chrétiens interdisent de voir en lui un converti à l'islam. Ce graffiti documente donc un type de *mawla* peu

¹ que le mot arabe ait été utilisé dans une de ces deux significations, cette question n'est pas réglée. L'autre semblance a vu dans le graffiti qui est, malgré la coexistence d'un *mawla* chrétien et d'un *mawla* musulman, le *mawla* chrétien dans le P.V. 13. III 72, à l'694 et évidemment chrétien dans le P.V. XII 32, 29, VII 342, etc. ; c'est tout simplement, comme l'explique l'usage, non pas le *mawla* chrétien des *Hommes Moisés* mais le *mawla* musulman de Moïse. Ce dernier papyrus contient probablement une autre forme de *mawla* lorsque, à la connaissance dans la section, VII 343 106-107A, 108A, 109A, 110A, 111A, 112A, 113A, 114A, 115A, 116A, 117A, 118A, 119A, 120A, 121A, 122A, 123A, 124A, 125A, 126A, 127A, 128A, 129A, 130A, 131A, 132A, 133A, 134A, 135A, 136A, 137A, 138A, 139A, 140A, 141A, 142A, 143A, 144A, 145A, 146A, 147A, 148A, 149A, 150A, 151A, 152A, 153A, 154A, 155A, 156A, 157A, 158A, 159A, 160A, 161A, 162A, 163A, 164A, 165A, 166A, 167A, 168A, 169A, 170A, 171A, 172A, 173A, 174A, 175A, 176A, 177A, 178A, 179A, 180A, 181A, 182A, 183A, 184A, 185A, 186A, 187A, 188A, 189A, 190A, 191A, 192A, 193A, 194A, 195A, 196A, 197A, 198A, 199A, 200A, 201A, 202A, 203A, 204A, 205A, 206A, 207A, 208A, 209A, 210A, 211A, 212A, 213A, 214A, 215A, 216A, 217A, 218A, 219A, 220A, 221A, 222A, 223A, 224A, 225A, 226A, 227A, 228A, 229A, 230A, 231A, 232A, 233A, 234A, 235A, 236A, 237A, 238A, 239A, 240A, 241A, 242A, 243A, 244A, 245A, 246A, 247A, 248A, 249A, 250A, 251A, 252A, 253A, 254A, 255A, 256A, 257A, 258A, 259A, 260A, 261A, 262A, 263A, 264A, 265A, 266A, 267A, 268A, 269A, 270A, 271A, 272A, 273A, 274A, 275A, 276A, 277A, 278A, 279A, 280A, 281A, 282A, 283A, 284A, 285A, 286A, 287A, 288A, 289A, 290A, 291A, 292A, 293A, 294A, 295A, 296A, 297A, 298A, 299A, 300A, 301A, 302A, 303A, 304A, 305A, 306A, 307A, 308A, 309A, 310A, 311A, 312A, 313A, 314A, 315A, 316A, 317A, 318A, 319A, 320A, 321A, 322A, 323A, 324A, 325A, 326A, 327A, 328A, 329A, 330A, 331A, 332A, 333A, 334A, 335A, 336A, 337A, 338A, 339A, 340A, 341A, 342A, 343A, 344A, 345A, 346A, 347A, 348A, 349A, 350A, 351A, 352A, 353A, 354A, 355A, 356A, 357A, 358A, 359A, 360A, 361A, 362A, 363A, 364A, 365A, 366A, 367A, 368A, 369A, 370A, 371A, 372A, 373A, 374A, 375A, 376A, 377A, 378A, 379A, 380A, 381A, 382A, 383A, 384A, 385A, 386A, 387A, 388A, 389A, 390A, 391A, 392A, 393A, 394A, 395A, 396A, 397A, 398A, 399A, 400A, 401A, 402A, 403A, 404A, 405A, 406A, 407A, 408A, 409A, 410A, 411A, 412A, 413A, 414A, 415A, 416A, 417A, 418A, 419A, 420A, 421A, 422A, 423A, 424A, 425A, 426A, 427A, 428A, 429A, 430A, 431A, 432A, 433A, 434A, 435A, 436A, 437A, 438A, 439A, 440A, 441A, 442A, 443A, 444A, 445A, 446A, 447A, 448A, 449A, 450A, 451A, 452A, 453A, 454A, 455A, 456A, 457A, 458A, 459A, 460A, 461A, 462A, 463A, 464A, 465A, 466A, 467A, 468A, 469A, 470A, 471A, 472A, 473A, 474A, 475A, 476A, 477A, 478A, 479A, 480A, 481A, 482A, 483A, 484A, 485A, 486A, 487A, 488A, 489A, 490A, 491A, 492A, 493A, 494A, 495A, 496A, 497A, 498A, 499A, 500A, 501A, 502A, 503A, 504A, 505A, 506A, 507A, 508A, 509A, 510A, 511A, 512A, 513A, 514A, 515A, 516A, 517A, 518A, 519A, 520A, 521A, 522A, 523A, 524A, 525A, 526A, 527A, 528A, 529A, 530A, 531A, 532A, 533A, 534A, 535A, 536A, 537A, 538A, 539A, 540A, 541A, 542A, 543A, 544A, 545A, 546A, 547A, 548A, 549A, 550A, 551A, 552A, 553A, 554A, 555A, 556A, 557A, 558A, 559A, 560A, 561A, 562A, 563A, 564A, 565A, 566A, 567A, 568A, 569A, 570A, 571A, 572A, 573A, 574A, 575A, 576A, 577A, 578A, 579A, 580A, 581A, 582A, 583A, 584A, 585A, 586A, 587A, 588A, 589A, 590A, 591A, 592A, 593A, 594A, 595A, 596A, 597A, 598A, 599A, 600A, 601A, 602A, 603A, 604A, 605A, 606A, 607A, 608A, 609A, 610A, 611A, 612A, 613A, 614A, 615A, 616A, 617A, 618A, 619A, 620A, 621A, 622A, 623A, 624A, 625A, 626A, 627A, 628A, 629A, 630A, 631A, 632A, 633A, 634A, 635A, 636A, 637A, 638A, 639A, 640A, 641A, 642A, 643A, 644A, 645A, 646A, 647A, 648A, 649A, 650A, 651A, 652A, 653A, 654A, 655A, 656A, 657A, 658A, 659A, 660A, 661A, 662A, 663A, 664A, 665A, 666A, 667A, 668A, 669A, 670A, 671A, 672A, 673A, 674A, 675A, 676A, 677A, 678A, 679A, 680A, 681A, 682A, 683A, 684A, 685A, 686A, 687A, 688A, 689A, 690A, 691A, 692A, 693A, 694A, 695A, 696A, 697A, 698A, 699A, 700A, 701A, 702A, 703A, 704A, 705A, 706A, 707A, 708A, 709A, 710A, 711A, 712A, 713A, 714A, 715A, 716A, 717A, 718A, 719A, 720A, 721A, 722A, 723A, 724A, 725A, 726A, 727A, 728A, 729A, 730A, 731A, 732A, 733A, 734A, 735A, 736A, 737A, 738A, 739A, 740A, 741A, 742A, 743A, 744A, 745A, 746A, 747A, 748A, 749A, 750A, 751A, 752A, 753A, 754A, 755A, 756A, 757A, 758A, 759A, 760A, 761A, 762A, 763A, 764A, 765A, 766A, 767A, 768A, 769A, 770A, 771A, 772A, 773A, 774A, 775A, 776A, 777A, 778A, 779A, 780A, 781A, 782A, 783A, 784A, 785A, 786A, 787A, 788A, 789A, 790A, 791A, 792A, 793A, 794A, 795A, 796A, 797A, 798A, 799A, 800A, 801A, 802A, 803A, 804A, 805A, 806A, 807A, 808A, 809A, 810A, 811A, 812A, 813A, 814A, 815A, 816A, 817A, 818A, 819A, 820A, 821A, 822A, 823A, 824A, 825A, 826A, 827A, 828A, 829A, 830A, 831A, 832A, 833A, 834A, 835A, 836A, 837A, 838A, 839A, 840A, 841A, 842A, 843A, 844A, 845A, 846A, 847A, 848A, 849A, 850A, 851A, 852A, 853A, 854A, 855A, 856A, 857A, 858A, 859A, 860A, 861A, 862A, 863A, 864A, 865A, 866A, 867A, 868A, 869A, 870A, 871A, 872A, 873A, 874A, 875A, 876A, 877A, 878A, 879A, 880A, 881A, 882A, 883A, 884A, 885A, 886A, 887A, 888A, 889A, 890A, 891A, 892A, 893A, 894A, 895A, 896A, 897A, 898A, 899A, 900A, 901A, 902A, 903A, 904A, 905A, 906A, 907A, 908A, 909A, 910A, 911A, 912A, 913A, 914A, 915A, 916A, 917A, 918A, 919A, 920A, 921A, 922A, 923A, 924A, 925A, 926A, 927A, 928A, 929A, 930A, 931A, 932A, 933A, 934A, 935A, 936A, 937A, 938A, 939A, 940A, 941A, 942A, 943A, 944A, 945A, 946A, 947A, 948A, 949A, 950A, 951A, 952A, 953A, 954A, 955A, 956A, 957A, 958A, 959A, 960A, 961A, 962A, 963A, 964A, 965A, 966A, 967A, 968A, 969A, 970A, 971A, 972A, 973A, 974A, 975A, 976A, 977A, 978A, 979A, 980A, 981A, 982A, 983A, 984A, 985A, 986A, 987A, 988A, 989A, 990A, 991A, 992A, 993A, 994A, 995A, 996A, 997A, 998A, 999A, 1000A.

Il est assez intéressant que les murs du monastère chrétien de Baouit nous livrent le seul témoignage littéraire d'un des grands personnages historiques de la dynastie omeyyade.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Buchinger, H., Gehring, A., Paisio, P. et Tosi, S. (1988) "Beitrage zu NPP III 1-6," *Livene* 34, 87-97.
- Crone, P. (1991) "Mamluk," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2^e ed. VI, Leyde: Brill, 868-874.
- Crone, P. (2001) *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, 2^e ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leissel, D. (2006) *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1957-2004*. Paris: Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance (Monographies 20).
- Frantz-Murphy, G. (1991) "Conversion in Early Islamic Egypt: The Economic Factor," in Ragib, Y. (ed.), *Documentos de l'Islam medieval: novelles perspectives de recherches*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1991, 11-17.
- Gellens, S. L. (1991) "Egypt: Islamization of," in Wissa, A. S. (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. New York: Macmillan 1991, III, 916-942.
- Juda, J. (1983) *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Araber in frühislamischer Zeit*. Tübingen: Dissertation.
- Kennedy, H. (1988) "Egypt as a Province in the Islamic Caliphate, 641-868," *The Cambridge History of Egypt: Islamic Egypt 640-1517*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lane-Poole, S. (1925) *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 4^e ed. Londres: Cass.
- Maspero, J. (1932-1943) *Fondées égyptiennes à Baouit, notes prises en 1932 et 1933* et éditées par J. Dauterive, *MIF*, 10: 39, fasc. 1, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1932, fasc. 2: Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1943.
- Monton, J.-M. (2002) "Un village copte du Fayoum au XI^e siècle, d'après la découverte d'un lot d'archives," *J. R. H. E.*, 44^e, 458.
- Othman, C. (2005) "Les *qanun* en Egypte dans la documentation papyrologique (I^{er}-V^e s. E.)," *Topoi* 39, 81-107.
- Ramzi, M. (1953-1945) *Il qanun al-qughrati fi l-bilad al-misriyya*. Le Caire: Matba' Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya.
- Sahas, D. J. (1972) *John of Damascus on Islam*. Leyde: Brill.
- Soudet, D. et J. Bosch-Vila (1988) *Regierung und Verwaltung des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, II, Leyde: Brill.
- Van Minnen, P. et Worp, K. A. (1980) "A New Edition of Ostraka from Akoris," *Tijds* 5, 95-99.

DIE ANAPHORISCHE INTERZESSION FÜR DIE VERSTORBENEN NACH DEN FRÜHEN ZEUGNISSEN KOPTISCHER LITURGIE

JULIA HESSLER

Über die Vielseitigkeit der koptischen Liturgie, die Schwierigkeiten auch bei der Deutung früher Zeugnisse ist viel gesprochen und geschrieben worden: es sei einmal mehr Quecke, einer der Pioniere der Forschung auf diesem Gebiet, zitiert: "Und was speziell die koptische Liturgie betrifft, so bin auch ich immer wieder beeindruckt von der Fülle von Fakten, die in unserem bruchstückhaften Wissen so ruhmig dastehen, daß man daraus verwerfeln möchte, sie jemals in den rechten Zusammenhang einzuordnen und deuten zu können". Ein Aspekt sei im Folgenden aus der Fülle der liturgiegeschichtlichen Fragestellungen herausgehoben und in aller Unvollständigkeit und Vorläufigkeit in Grundzügen dargestellt. Die verschiedenen Formen der anaphorischen Interzession für Verstorbene und ihre Entwicklung. Auch in diesem Bereich ist die Quellenlage nicht hinreichend, alle Fragen zu klären, doch lassen sich Leitlinien skizzieren.

Aus dem ersten Jahrtausend ist teilweise mit Fragmenten eine Vielzahl von Anaphoren in griechischer oder syrischer Fassung überliefert, die ältesten Testzeugen gehen dabei zurück bis ins 4. Jahrhundert. Manche Anaphoren sind vollständig überliefert und ihr Name ist bekannt, von anderen ist der Name bekannt, ihr Text jedoch nur unvollständig, von wieder anderen sind lediglich Textreste erhalten. Charakteristisch für die Feier der eucharistischen Liturgie in Ägypten ist offensichtlich das Fehlen jeder Uniformität von dem 11.-12. Jahrhundert: die Vielzahl der überlieferten Anaphoren gibt beides Zeugnis davon, Gebete konnten regional und temporär flexibel verwendet werden. Allerdings sollten sich nach und nach drei Hauptanaphoren durchsetzen. Über ist zunächst die gemäß ägyptische, nach dem Evangelisten Markos benannte Markosa oder Keryktonaphora zu nennen, die durch einige typisch ägyptisch-alexandrinische Besonderheiten wie die doppelte Epiklese oder die Stellung der Interzessionen nach dem Namen ausgezeichnet ist. Syrisch-antiochenischen Ursprungs sind dann die beiden anderen wohl im 5. Jahrhundert nach Ägypten importierten Anaphoren, die Gregoriosanaphora, deren Besonderheit ist, dass sich alle Gebete an Christus richten, sowie die Basiliosanaphora,¹ die bis heute das Standardmodell des eucharistischen Gottesdienstes der koptischen Kirche bleiben sollte. Die größte Zahl erhaltener syrischer Eucharistieformulare sollte sich jedoch in einer Handschrift aus dem 10.-11. Jahrhundert finden, dem sog. "Großen Eucharistikon".

¹ Vgl. Quecke 1979.

² Beschreibung und Text der koptischen Eucharistiegebete findet sich bei Hammer 2000: 20-24. Synodischer früher Testzeugen und ihre Zurechnung zur Markosanaphora finden sich bei Hammer 2000: 200.

³ Zum griechischen Text vgl. Luthardt 1924: 15. Für den der Syrischen Textes findet sich bei Hammer 2000: 197. Eine Übersicht über die Eucharistiegeschichte vgl. v. S. Pernig 2000: 45-51. Eine Neuedition des ältesten erhaltenen Zeugnisses syrischer Eucharistie aus dem 5. Jahrhundert tendenziell gegenläufig bei Hammer 2000: 16-17.

⁴ Eine Edition der griechischen, syrischen und koptischen Handschriften vom 6. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert mit ausführlichem Kommentar und liturgiehistorischer Würdigung bei v. S. Pernig 2004.

aus dem Weißen Kloster' im Süden Ägyptens. Reste einer ganzen Reihe bekannter, aber auch sonst unbekannter Anaphoren sind hier erhalten, mit Ausnahme der Markose-Kyriellusanaphora wird auch hier der syrische Einfluss sichtbar. Darüber hinaus sind zahlreiche weitere Anaphorenfragmente in griechischer oder sühidischer Sprache erhalten.¹

Christus zu allen Zeiten trägt die Hoffnung über den Tod hinaus, die Auferstehung Jesu Christi ist Garant dafür, dass der Weg des Gläubigenden mit seinem Tod nicht zu Ende ist. Krankheit, Leid und Sterben können in der Gewissheit der Nähe Gottes mit Lieber und Beistand begleitet werden; eigene christliche Bestattungsriten sollten sich bald herausbilden. Das fürbittende Gebet für Verstorbene, wiewohl im Neuen Testament selbst noch nicht belegt, gehört zur alten christlichen Tradition. Ihm wohnen jeweils auch die Danksagen des Trostes für die Trauenden sowie der Bewältigung der eigenen Verpauglichkeiten inne. Dies ist auch in der koptischen Kirche seit ihren Anfängen nicht anders.² So sind Gebete für Verstorbene zu vielfältigen Anlässen wie dem Begräbnis oder einem Gedenktag selbstverständlich. Nicht nur Märtyrer und Heilige, sondern alle Christen, so die Hoffnung, mögen nach ihrem Tode Gottes erhalten in der Nähe des himmlischen Gottes. Diese Gebete für Verstorbene haben auch Eingang gefunden in die sog. Kindanymagistionanaphore,³ oder finden sich auch wiederholt mit ähnlichen Motiven in Grabinschriften. Gebete ohne besonderen konkreten Anlass nehmen auf das Schicksal der 'Entschlafenen', wie es meist heißt, Bezug. Ein traditioneller Ort der Eucharistie für die Verstorbenen – Heilige wie gewöhnliche Christen – ist traditionell der eucharistische Gottesdienst.

Zu den Liturgien aus dem Weißen Kloster bezieht zuletzt H. Brakmann. Im Vergleich mit den literarischen und biblischen Handschriften der Weißen Klöster sei die Liturgie des Weißen Klosters, so Brakmann, demnach 'unvollständig' behandelt.⁴ Vgl. Brakmann 1989b.

¹ Die Editionen von H. H. H. 1918, Vgl. z. B. die Anaphoren H. H. H. 1918, 12–14, ferner Brakmann 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 3854, 3855, 3856, 3857, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3868, 3869, 3870, 3871, 3872, 3873, 3874, 3875, 3876, 3877, 3878, 3879, 3880, 3881, 3882, 3883, 3884, 3885, 3886, 3887, 3888, 3889, 3890, 3891, 3892, 3893, 3894, 3895, 3896, 3897, 3898, 3899, 3900, 3901, 3902, 3903, 3904, 3905, 3906, 3907, 3908, 3909, 3910, 3911, 3912, 3913, 3914, 3915, 3916, 3917, 3918, 3919, 3920, 39

P. Basil. 9755 sowie u.a. in späteren Zeugen der Basiliosanaphora,⁴⁵ der griechischen Gregoriosanaphora, in der syrischen Matthäusanaphora sowie der unbekannten Anaphora auf *Z.* 100,61 f.⁴⁶

Auch die Vorstellung des Fernseins von Schmerz, Kummer und Sorgen greift auf alttestamentliche Vorstellungen zurück: sie ist nämlich den eschatologischen Ansichten des Propheten Jesaja entnommen.⁴⁷ In unterschiedlichen Kombinationen finden sich die drei annähernd synonymen Bezeichnungen für Leid auch im Neuen Testament.⁴⁸ Dieses Motiv ist weit verbreitet, so findet es sich beispielsweise nicht in *P. Alex.* 1586, im priesterlichen Interzessionsgebet der Basiliosanaphora wie in dem der unbekannten Anaphora in *Z.* 100,134f.⁴⁹

Das Bild vom Glanz der Heiligen geht zurück auf Ps. 110,3 f. (XX. 109). Es findet sich in den Interzessionen bei *P. Basil.* III–465, Kosmas Indikopleustes in den priesterlichen Gebeten der Basiliosanaphora sowie der Anaphoren von *Z.* 100,134f. sowie *Z.* 100,401.⁵⁰

Die Bitte um Vergebung findet sich ganz zu Beginn der anaphorischen Interzession bei der unbekannten Anaphora von *Z.* 100,136f., auch bei der Matthäusanaphora sowie sehr ausführlich in Verbindung mit der Vergebung nicht nur der Sünden der Verstorbenen, sondern auch der eigenen Sünden im Gebet der unbekannten Anaphora in *Z.* 100,61 f. Dort wird auch darauf Bezug genommen, dass Gott die Gestalt und den Wandel der Verstorbenen kennt und Vergebung schenkt.

Wortlich von der 'Auferstehung' handelt die Rede in *P. Basil.* 9755 nach der Hoffnung Ausdruck verliehen: 'Gott möge die Verstorbenen durch seinen Auferstehung'. Das Bild von der 'Auferstehung des Menschen am festgesetzten Tag' findet sich lediglich in *P. Basil.* 465, bei Kosmas Indikopleustes und Zeugen der Markos-Kyriosanaphora.

Die Vielzahl der Textzeugen und Schreibvarianten bei der Wahrung mancher Texte – eine spätere Handschrift überliefert nicht selten ein viel älteres Textstadium – machen die Auswertung des Zusammengefügten nicht einfach. Sicher ist dies nicht und noch nicht mit den Diptychen, sondern auch von vorhanden, bei den vorangehenden Kombinationen von Heiligen, Märtyrern und kirchlichen Ständen eine immer ungerechte Liste wächst. Parallelen aus anderen Gebeten finden Eingang. Eine weitere Tendenz ist aber auch, dass der Abstand zwischen dem allmächtigen Gott und seinem Sohn, dem Partokator, immer stärker erhöht wird und zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, Menschen erfahren sich als der Gnade Gottes immer unwürdiger. Während in früheren Texten Bilder vom Paradies, vom Schloß der Patriarchen, dem Ort beschreiben, an dem der verstorbene Gläubende

⁴⁵ Vgl. zum Beispiel 2000, 517. Dabei zeigen einige der Zeugen einen Text, dass das Paradies-Motiv erst nichtiglich ausgeschrieben 981 auf eine Wiedergabe der Rede zurückgeführt wurde, die salustischen Zeugen könnten ausnahmsweise nicht.

⁴⁶ Ähnliche Wendungen begegnen sich in griechischen Anaphoren.

⁴⁷ Vgl. des 35. (36. und 37. H.) über den letzten Wandel, der sich von dieser Kombination in der LXX in Gen. 1,16 inhaltlich der Vorstellung eines anderen Diptychs.

⁴⁸ Siehe 1. Buch der Könige 1,2.

⁴⁹ Auch diese Wendung ist im anaphorischen Interzessionsgebet der griechischen Jakobusanaphora 'Seign'.

⁵⁰ Ein Eucharistie-Gebet, das in der griechischen Jakobusanaphora, aber auch der griechischen Jakobusanaphora mit der Wendung 'Gott möge die Verstorbenen durch seinen Auferstehung' beginnt, ist in der LXX in Gen. 1,16 inhaltlich der Vorstellung eines anderen Diptychs.

⁵¹ Vgl. auch 984, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790,

unmittelbar nach seinem Tod ankommt, scheint in manchen späteren Texten dies mehr ein vorläufiger "Wartezimmer", wo die Seele des gläubigen Verstorbenen das letzte Gericht harret. Die Parallelen mancher Formulierungen und Vorstellungen nötigt jedoch nicht immer dazu, zeitlich aufeinander folgende Entwicklungsstadien anzunehmen. Die Färbung für die Verstorbenen in all ihren Ausformungen spiegelt die Glaubensversicht der Christen Ägyptens und die Verwurzelung ihrer liturgischen Sprache in der Bibel, vor allem im Alten Testament.

Im Vorangehenden war es lediglich möglich, einen kurzen Überblick in die Formulierung der anaphorischen Interzession für Verstorbene und Grundlinien ihrer Entwicklung anzudeuten. In jedem Fall lohnenswert wäre eine umfassendere Darstellung des erweiterten Themas, wo nicht nur anaphorische Texte, sondern auch vor- und nachanaphorische Fürbittengebete mit einbezogen werden sollten, ebenso wie dokumentarische Texte und Inschriften. Eine detaillierte Studie könnte einmal mehr das Bild der "Einheit in der Vielfalt", das die ägyptische Liturgie und Frömmigkeit bietet, bestärken.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- Bastinoni, G. und Gallazzi, C. (1988) "Papiro 189235: Frammento liturgico," *ZPE* 58, 99-102 + Abb. Tafel IV.
- Batte, H. (1975) "Les plus anciennes formules de prière pour les morts," in *La Maladie et la Mort du chrétien dans la Liturgie* (conferencia: Saint-Eugène, 1974), *Annuaire d'études liturgiques*, Paris 1974 juillet 1974, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 1, Roma: Editiones Liturgicae, 83-99.
- Birkmann, H. (2004a) "Fragmenta Graeco-Copto-Hebraica. Zu Julia Henners Veröffentlichung alter und neuer Dokumente südägyptischer Liturgie," *Orbis* 88, 117-172.
- Birkmann, H. (2004b) "Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1996-2000)," in Immerzeel, M. und Vliet, J. van der (Hg.), *Coptic Studies: an interdisciplinary approach* (*Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden 27 Aug. - 2 Sept. 2000*, Leiden: Brill, 575-606).
- Budde, A. (2004) *Die ägyptische Basilika (Anaphora) Text, Kommentar, Geschichte*, *HHf* 73, Münster: Aschendorf.
- Cumming, G. I. (1980) *The Liturgy of St. Mark* (= *OC* 4.234), Roma: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium.
- Doreuse, J. und Lanpe, E. (1980) *Le manuscrit archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile. En appendice les liturgies byzantines et saint Basile par Dom R. Capelle* (= *BHec* 47), Louvain: Publications de l'Université.
- Engberding, H. (1964) "Zur anaphorische Fürbitte der Markus-Liturgie," *OrF* 30, 398-436.
- Förster, H. (2006) "Sich des Gebrauches der Frauen enthalten. Eine Anfrage an die grammatikalische Struktur einer Interzession für Verstorbene im Großen Iochologion aus dem Weißen Kloster," *ZfE* 9, 584-591.

- Gierhards, A. (1984). *Die griechische Chrysostomusanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Hochaltars*. LG 68 (Münster, Aschendorf).
- Hiebel, J. van (1976). *Catalogue des papyrus officiels grecs et coptes*. Paris: Sorbonne.
- Hammerschmidt, J. (1957). *Die koptische Chrysostomusanaphora. Versuche und griechische Einflüsse auf eine ägyptische Liturgie*. BG 84.81 Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hammerstaedt, F. (1999). *Die koptische Liturgie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Liturgie in Ägypten und Syrien* (Papirologie). C. Schmidt. 281. Aufl. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Heinrich, J. (2000). *Die koptische Liturgie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Liturgie in Ägypten und Syrien*. Teil 1. Die koptische Liturgie des ersten Jahrtausends. 1. Aufl. 81. Aufl. Leipzig: Mohr Siebeck.
- Junker, H. und W. Schubart (1912). 'Ein griechisch-koptisches Kirchengebet.' Z 13.40, 1-31.
- Krause, M. (2003). 'Das Totenwesen der Kopten.' in: Froschauer, H., Gristenberger, C. und Harnack, H. (Hg.). *Die koptische Liturgie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Liturgie in Ägypten und Syrien*. 81. Aufl. Wien: Pöschel, 33-44.
- Lanne, J. (1988). *Les liturgies koptiques de l'Égypte*. 1. Aufl. 28.21 Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Meyer, D. (1974). *Die koptische Liturgie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Liturgie in Ägypten und Syrien*. 1. Aufl. 26.21 Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Papadopoulos, A. (1988). 'Ein neues Zeugnis frühchristlicher griechischer Kindertanzepistolographie.' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 11, 198-206.
- Pleyte, W. und E. A. A. Boeser (Hg.) (1997). *Manuscripts coptes de l'Égypte et d'Antioche des Pères Basilien*. Leiden: Brill.
- Quesada, H. (1978). 'Zur Kenntnis der koptischen Liturgie.' in: M. Wilson (Hg.). *The Future of Coptic Studies*. 1. Aufl. 1978. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Tall, R. F. (1991). 'The diptych. A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom IV.' *Orbis* 238, 79-94.
- Wagner, G. (1952). 'La consécration des saints dans la prière eucharistique.' *Revue de théologie* 48, 447-456.
- Wessely, C. (1917). *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts*. 1. Aufl. 1917. Leipzig: Augustus Haessel.
- Winkler, G. (1971). 'Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.' *Orbis* 37, 133-151.

DIE KOPTISCHEN KAUFURKUNDEN VON KLOSTERZELLEN DES APOLLO-KLOSTERS VON BAWIT AUS ABBASIDISCHER ZEIT¹

MARIE KRAUSE

Über die Person Apollo, nach dem acht Klöster in Ägypten benannt worden sind, wissen wir vorläufig nichts Endgültiges. Die schriftlichen Quellen, von denen die arabischen Synakere berichten über mehrere Personen namens Apollo² und sind bisher nur zum Teil veröffentlicht worden. Zwei Apollo-Klöster liegen südlich von Hermopolis (= Hawit) und einer in Ithkuh. Auch unsere leider viel zu früh verstorbene Kollegin Sarah Clarkson konnte sich nicht entscheiden, ob die in den schriftlichen Quellen genannten beiden Apollo-Klöster südlich von Hermopolis sich mit zwei verschiedenen Klöstern beziehen, oder ob das in den schriftlichen Quellen als Apollo-Kloster von Ithkuh bezeugte Apollo-Kloster, das archäologisch bisher nicht nachgewiesen worden ist, identisch ist mit den Ruinen des Apollo-Kloster von Bawit.³

Die von ägyptischen Bauern vor 1900 auf der Suche nach Seba⁴ 10-fache Felder in der Wüste zwei km von dem Dorf Hawit entfernt entdeckten Klostermauern waren zunächst als Grabkapellen eines Friedhofs angesehen worden, bevor erkannt wurde, daß man ein aus vielen kleineren Bauten und Kirchen bestehendes Doppelkloster von etwa 700 m in nordsüdlicher und 720 m in westöstlicher Richtung überlegte, das von einer Mauer umgeben war. Von Ausgrabungen, die heutigen Ansprüchen genügen, kann man erst seit Wiederaufnahme der Ausgrabungen im Jahre 2002 durch das französische Archäologische Institut in Kairo in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Louvre in Paris sprechen. Mit der Veröffentlichung des wissenschaftlichen Nachlasses des ersten Ausgräbers J. Clédat (1990) hatten die französischen Arbeiten in Hawit sowohl einen Abschluß als auch einen viel versprechenden Neubeginn erreicht, zumal in ihm auch mit der Publikation der in der Grabung gefundenen Papyri und Ostraka⁵ begonnen wurde. Sie werden hoffentlich helfen, bei der Zuweisung der vielen antiken Antikenhandel stammenden Papyri auf die verschiedenen Apollo-Klöster, an deren Aufklärung in Museen und Sammlungen und Publikation Sarah Clarkson sich bleibende Verdienste erworben hat.⁶

Aus dem Antikenhandel stammen auch die fünf großen Kaufturkunden aus dem Apollon-Kloster von Hawit, über die hier berichtet werden soll. Sie wurden 1888 vom British Museum in London angekauft und tragen jetzt die Signaturen BM 6201-6204 und 6205. Sie wurden von W. F. Crum teilweise kopiert und von R. F. Kahlé in Oumy Nachbalt⁷ wieder gefunden. Kahlés früher Tod

¹ Dieser Aufsatz ist eine kurze Zusammenfassung einer im Druck befindlichen überarbeiteten koptischen Dissertation von 1998, deren Erscheinen durch die Erkrankung der ehemaligen DDM verhindert worden ist.

² Krause 2003: 146ff.

³ Krause 2003: 149f.

⁴ Crispin 1977: 133-136.

⁵ Clédat 2000: 222 f.

⁶ Nach den Inschriften 17 des Mönchslozes im Norden und des Frauenlozes im Süden.

⁷ Clédat 1990. In dieser Publikation ist z. B. Pl. 6203/6204 neu als Grundriß des Klosters veröffentlicht.

⁸ Mond Paris 1993: 1-20 ff. 2004.

⁹ Clarkson 2003a, 2004.

¹⁰ Crispin 3, 5.

Verkäuflich sind dagegen die Klosterzellen. Die kognisch als *κτῆμα κοινόν* "monk's cell" oder "group of cells" bezeichneten Gebäude werden mit "Zellengruppe" übersetzt, weil sie aus mehreren Räumen, aus Kapelle, Wohnraum, Gewölbe, Treppen und Dächern¹ bestanden. Wie die bisherigen Freilegungen gezeigt haben, waren diese Klosterzellen nicht große Säle wie z. B. im Apollon-Kloster von Balanzah², sondern kleine Viehställe, die innerhalb der Klostermauern über das große Gelände des Klosters verteilt waren. Die Urkunden benennen außerdem die Ausrüstung dieser Zellengruppe auf allen vier Seiten in der Reihenfolge: Süden, Süden, Osten und Westen. Während z. B. im Süden für die Zeit von 833-849 dieselben Nachbarn, der Kleine Hof des Johannes und Moimose³, genannt werden, stellen wir in diesem Zeitraum im Osten einen Wechsel der Nachbarn fest. Es werden drei verschiedene Nachbarn als Bewohner der kleinen Zelle im Osten nacheinander genannt: Schierute, Markos und zuletzt der Hof des Markos. Nach den Kaufpreis, dessen Höhe zwischen drei und zwei Solidi schwankt, erfahren wir, und seine Übergabe durch die Käufer an die Verkäufer wird durch die Zeugen, die am Ende der Urkunde unterschreiben, bezeugt.

In den 4 Verkaufsurkunden der in der *neuen Basilika* gelegenen Zellengruppe, deren Verkauf in den Jahren 833 bis 849 in dieser zeitlichen Abfolge: 6200, 6204, 6206 und 6202 erfolgte, werden uns sowohl die Namen und Ämter der Verkäufer und der Käufer als auch die Namen der Vorbesitzer genannt, so daß wir eine ununterbrochene Abfolge der Besitzer dieser Gruppe nicht nur für die Jahre 833 bis 849, sondern auch für einen oft nicht näher bekannten Zeitpunkt vor 833 erhalten, als der Vorbesitzer die Zellengruppe an den Käufer von 6203 verkaufte, und die Verkäufer der letzten erhaltenen Urkunde von 6202 nennen die letzten aus bekannten Käufer. Somit erfahren wir den Wechsel über sechs aufeinander folgende Besitzer dieser Zellengruppe. Ein exaktes Datum für den Beginn der Verkäufe kennen wir leider nicht, denn in der ältesten erhaltenen Urkunde, in 6203, wird zwar als ehemaliger Vorbesitzer des Kaufobjektes der Archimandrit Ammonios genannt, die Verkaufsurkunde ist uns aber bisher nicht erhalten, so daß wir nicht wissen, wann er seinen Besitz kam, wie lange der Archimandrit Besitzer dieses Klosterstückes war, wer der Vorbesitzer war und vor allem nicht, wann mit dem Verkauf von Klosterstücken im Apollon-Kloster begonnen wurde. Zumindest der Zeitraum, in dem die Zellengruppe nach Ausweis der Urkunden im Besitz einer Käufer war, unterschiedlich lang und dabei abnehmend immer kürzer wurde, nämlich nur knapp 10, * oder nur noch 2 Jahre war.

Die 5. Urkunde, 6201, beschreibt den Verkauf eines anderen Kaufobjektes, nämlich einer kleineren Zellengruppe in der *großen Basilika* südlich eines Gebäudes, das als "Diakonia" bezeichnet wird. Zu ihr gehörten eine Treppe, die auf das Dach führt, eine Veranda auf dem Dach und ein kleines Gewölbe. Ausrüstung wie in der Zellengruppe der *neuen Basilika* werden nicht genannt. Nur die Urkunde 6201 bezeugt den Verkauf dieser Zellengruppe, der 849, kurz vor dem Verkauf der Zellengruppe in der *neuen Basilika*, erfolgt ist. Außerdem fällt auf, daß in den Urkunden 6202 und 6201 dieselben Personen als Verkäufer und Käufer bezeugt sind. In beiden Urkunden verkauft Schemite, der

¹ Crum 1939: 300.

² 6203: 35 f. c, 36 f.

³ Crum 1939: 300.

⁴ 6203: 32 f., 6204: 27 f., 6206: * 6202: 31 f. Es deckt sich * 6202 mit den gezeichneten Arten- und Übersichtsplänen der beiden Zellengruppen vollständig, in denen auch die Namen der Besitzer der Zellengruppen und die Zeit ihres Wohnens eingezeichnet sind.

Archimandrit des Klosters, in 6202 mit seinen Brüdern, den Mönchen Paulus und Severus, in 6260 mit den jetzt im Amt befindlichen Verkäufern, wohl denselben Personen, in 6202 an die Mönche Statrus, Sossimus und Phorhappion, in 620, an dieselben Personen, die nun in anderer Reihenfolge, Sossimus, Phorhappion und Statrus genannt und dann als *agorataktai*, die Mönche bezeichnet werden. Auch in 6204, 877 werden die Käufer der Zellengruppe in der neuen Heksastat als *agorataktai* Mönche bezeichnet. Von den 11 Zeugen bezeugen 7 Personen in beiden Urkunden, in 6201 unterschrieben noch 4 weitere Zeugen. Die Höhe des Kaufpreises ist in beiden Urkunden unterschiedlich,¹ weil es sich um verschieden große Zellengruppen handelt.

Betrachten wir zunächst die Angaben der Urkunden zum Zeitpunkt des Kaufes/Verkaufes, die Namen und Alter der Verkäufer und Käufer, die Höhe des Kaufpreises und achten dabei vor allem auch auf die Motive für den Kauf und Verkauf, auf die geplante Verwendung des Verkaufserlöses und einzelnen den Zeitpunkt, in dem die Zellengruppe im Besitz der Verkäufer war. Beginnen wir mit den vier Urkunden, in denen der in der neuen Heksastat des Apollo-Kloster gelegene Zellenverband verkauft wird.

Als erster Vorbesitzer wird 6200, 21. 1. der vor 873 verstorbene Archimandrit Apa Annonius genannt, der diese Zellengruppe an Joseph verkauft hat. Welchen Rang der Käufer zum Zeitpunkt des Kaufes hatte, wissen wir nicht, ebenso wenig, ob auch Josephs Bruder Markus als Käufer in der nicht erhaltenen Urkunde auftrat. Dieser Käufer namens Joseph verkauft nach Ausweis von 6201, 3 H. am 9 Tybaster 11 Indiktion (im 549. Jahr nach Diokletian und dem 217. Jahr der Heksastat, nämlich als Priester und Archimandrit) des Apollo-Klosters mit seinem Bruder, dem Mönch Markus, diese Zellengruppe an Makarios, den Sohn des verstorbenen Pehex-Hatte, der mit der Kauf-geldsumme hatte. Mit der Urkunde 6203 ist uns die bisher älteste Verkaufsverpflichtung erhalten. Nach Nennung der Annoten auf allen 4 Seiten wird die Höhe des vereinbarten Kaufpreises mit drei Goldsolidi angegeben und ebenso seine Übergabe durch die Käufer an die Verkäufer. Diese haben das Geld überwiesen für die Verwaltung der Diakonia des Klosters.

Die Käufer dieser Zellengruppe, Makarios Pehex und seine Söhne Theodor, Arthimios und Merkarios verkaufen in der Urkunde 6204 am 9 Chiosk, der 6 Indiktion des 559. Jahres nach Diokletian und dem 227. Jahr der Sarazenen, noch knapp 10 Jahre die von Joseph und Markus gekaufte Zellengruppe weiter an den Priester Paulus und seinen Bruder Petros. Der Verkauf erfolgte aus Not der Verkäufer und auf Anfrage der Käufer. Der Kaufpreis beträgt wieder drei Goldsolidi. Eine Aussage über die Verwendung des Kaufpreiseses fällt zwar, doch kann aus der Aussage *κρίσθητι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐξουσία* 'es hat die Notwendigkeit' etc.² erschlossen werden, dass die Verkäufer das Geld benötigten.

Der Käufer dieser Zellengruppe, der Priester Paulus und Verwalter unseres Vaters Apa Pammios aus Abnas, verkauft in der Urkunde 6206 am 5 Paphlaster 11 Indiktion des 564. Jahres nach Diokletian und dem 233. Jahr der Sarazenen, noch knapp 7 Jahren die von Makarios, dem Sohn des Pehex-Hatte gekaufte Zellengruppe weiter in die apostolischen Mönche Schemate, Severus, Paulus und Timotheus. Der Verkauf erfolgte auf Wunsch der Verkäufer, der den Kaufpreis für sich und das Kloster verwenden wollte. Eine nähere Angabe über das Verfügungsverhältnis des Kaufpreises, ob es hälftig oder unterschiedlich geteilt werden soll, wird nicht gemacht. Der Kaufpreis beträgt nur noch zwei Goldsolidi.

¹ Solidi von 6202 und 11. 1. Solidi 6201.

² 6204 19.

Die Käufer dieser Zellengruppe, Schenute, der sich nun als Priester und Archimandrit vorstellt, und seine Brüder, die Mönche Paulus und Severus, verkaufen in der Urkunde 6202 am 15. Thot der 14. Indiktion des 566. Jahres nach Diokletian, also bereits nach knapp zwei Jahren, die von dem Priester und Verwalter des Apa Panton gekaufte Zellengruppe weiter an die Mönche Saurus, Susinnus und Phoiburnon, die Söhne des verstorbenen Apa Hes. Der Verkauf erfolgte auf Anfrage der Käufer. Der Kaufpreis beträgt 2 Goldsolidi, über dessen Verwendung nichts ausgesagt wird.

Für die vier Urkunden, die den Verkauf der in der neuen Werkstatt gelegenen Zellengruppe dokumentieren, läßt sich also ergeben, daß in 6203 und 6202 jeweils der Klosterabt als Verkäufer auftrat und ebenso schon der in 6203 genannte Vorbesitzer der Zellengruppe ein Abt namens Ammonius war. In 6206 war der Verkäufer heute Priester und Verwalter unseres Apa Panton aus Abnas,¹ der in 6204 zusammen mit seinem Bruder Petrus die Zellengruppe gekauft hatte. In 6202 und auch in 6201 ist dieser Priester Paulus später noch als Zeuge für den Kauf/Verkauf von beiden Zellengruppen tätig.² Von den Verkäufern in 6204 fehlen Amtsangaben. Ebenso werden in die Käufer in 6203 keine Ämter genannt. In 6206 sind die Käufer apotaktische Mönche, in 6202 Mönche, nur in 6204 waren ein Priester und sein Bruder die Käufer. In zweifachen, 6206 und 6202, wollten die Käufer, Mönche, ohne Angabe des Grundes Zellengruppen kaufen, und zweimal wollten die Besitzer von Zellen verkaufen, entweder, weil sie in Not sind,³ oder weil sie das Geld für sich und das Kloster benötigen.⁴ In 6203 will der Klosterabt den Verkaufserlös für die Verwaltung der Diakonia des Klosters verwenden.⁵

Als Fazit ergibt sich, daß in der Mehrheit Klosteräbte als Verkäufer der Zellengruppe auftreten, die Geld für das Kloster und seine Verwaltung benötigen. Bei den Käufern sind überwiegend Mönche und apotaktische Mönche vertreten. Einen Sonderfall stellt der Priester Paulus dar, der in 6204 mit seinem Bruder den in Not geratenen Besitzern die Zellengruppe kaufte, um sie in 6206 nach 6 Jahren an apotaktische Mönche weiter zu verkaufen und das Geld für sich und das Kloster zu verwenden.

In der Urkunde 6201 wird der Verkauf einer andererseits an dem Bannos gelegenen kleinen Zellengruppe südlich der Diakonia beurkundet. Sie datiert vom 10. Thot der 14. Indiktion⁶ des 566. Jahres nach Diokletian. Sie ist verkauft der auch in 6202 bezeugte Priester und Archimandrit Schenute mit den im Anle befindlichen Verwaltern, deren Namen nicht genannt werden. Diese kleine Zellengruppe, die sich im Besitz der Diakonia befindet, an die apotaktische Mönche Severus, Phoiburnon und Susinnus, die auch in 6202 als Käufer einer Zellengruppe in der neuen Werkstatt bezeugt sind, Der Kauf erfolgte auf Anfrage der Käufer. Der Kaufpreis betrug nur 1 Solidus und 3 Trimesion, den Schenute für die Verwaltung der Diakonia des Klosters verwandt hat. Damit haben die Käufer, die apotaktischen Mönche von 6202 und 6201, zwei Zellengruppen gekauft, eine in der neuen Werkstatt und eine in der alten Backerei.

¹ zu Apa Panton aus Abnas (Heraclios) in *Witzgall*, 1, 109–110, 143–144, 152.

² in 6202, 901, und 6202, 91.

³ 6201, 19.

⁴ 6206, 12.

⁵ 6203, 29.

⁶ So 6201, 11. 6201, 1, wo die Zahl 13 in 14 verbessert.

⁷ 6201, 41.

bis zum Tode des Inhabers galt.¹² Die Aussage der *vorher* Gültigkeit des Kaufes, die im Widerspruch zu der Vereinbarung steht, daß der Besitz nur bis zum Tode des Käufers gilt, dürfte auf die Verwendung des Kaufformulars zurückgehen, das die Klausel der ewigen Gültigkeit des Vertrages enthielt. Die Bestimmung, wonach beim Tod des Besitzers die Zellengruppe an die Diakonia des Klosters zurückfällt, findet sich nur in den vier Urkunden über den Verkauf der in der *neuen Werkstatt* gelegenen Zellengruppe, nicht für die Zellengruppe in der *alten Werkstatt*.¹³ Ob diese, in 6204 fehlende Aussage nur als Auslassungsfehler des Schreibers anzusehen ist oder ob sie für diese Zellengruppe keine Gültigkeit hatte, wissen wir nicht.

Der Verkauf gilt also nur bis zum Tode des Käufers. Danach fällt die Zellengruppe an die Diakonia des Klosters zurück, und die Diakonia des Klosters kann sie wieder verkaufen und kommt durch den Wiederverkauf der Zellengruppe erneut zu Geld. Somit ist durch ein generelles Abkommen mit den Mönchen eine Lösung gefunden worden, daß für den Kaufpreis ein lebenslanges Besitzrecht an einer Zellengruppe erworben wird, das auch das Recht des Lebens, der Zerstörung und des Wiederverkaufs¹⁴ der Zellengruppe einschließt. Von Recht des Wiederverkaufs wird im Agathon-Kloster, wie die vier Urkunden 6203, 6204, 6206 und 6207 zeigen, die den Verkauf der Zellengruppe in der *neuen Werkstatt* betreffen, *reges* Gebrauch gemacht. Bereits nach knapp 10, bzw. 2 Jahren wird die Zellengruppe von den Besitzern an andere Mönche wiederverkauft, wie wir sehen.

In den vier Urkunden, in denen der Verkauf der Zellengruppe in der *neuen Werkstatt* beurkundet ist, wird noch mehrfach ausgesagt, daß auch Nachbargrundstücke, vor allem Höfe im Norden, verkauft wurden. Diese Verkaufsurkunden sind uns aber nicht erhalten. Das spricht dafür, daß die uns bisher bekannten Verkaufsurkunden nur einen kleinen Teil der abgeschlossenen Verkaufsverträge bilden.

In 6201 liegt dieselbe Ausgangssituation eines Verkaufs wie beim erstmaligen Verkauf einer Zellengruppe vor, wo eine im Besitze der Diakonia des Klosters befindliche Zellengruppe vom Klosteralt und den im Amte befindlichen Mönchen dem Verwalter, in Mönche verkauft wird. Diese Situation wiederholt sich dann immer wieder, wenn der Besitzer einer Zellengruppe stirbt und seine Zellengruppe an die Diakonia des Klosters zurückfällt. Nach diesem erstmaligen Verkauf einer im Besitze der Diakonia befindlichen Zellengruppe in einen Käufer kann der Käufer sie an andere Käufer wiederverkaufen, wie wir das besonders in der *neuen Werkstatt* gelegenen Zellengruppe in den Urkunden gesehen haben.

Erstmalig in den Urkunden 6206 und 6201 ist, daß die Käufer als *κτορῳακτικοὶ ἐρημίται*, „apokatistische Mönche“ bezeichnet werden. In den 5 Urkunden begegnen uns folgende Bezeichnungen für „Mönche“: ein koptischer *ἁδελφὸς*, wörtlich „mein Bruder“ „Mönch“ und zwei griechische *μοναχὸς* und *μοναχῆς*. Während *ἁδελφὸς* die gängige Bezeichnung für den Mönch ist,¹⁵ begegnet

¹² 6204, 24 v. 6206, 35 f. beschränktsten „vorher“ Zusatz durch den Zusatz „ἀπὸ τότε πρὸς τὸν νῦν“.

¹³ 6203, 24.

¹⁴ So 6206, 29 f. die ausführliche Beschreibung: „Wenn ich heute, wenn ich da bin, das Recht verleihe, wenn ich erwirbt will, wenn ich dazu berechtigt sein möchte, ob ich die Zellengruppe selbst an mich, oder ob sie verkauft will, wenn ich dazu berechtigt.“ Während die beiden ersten Urkunden (6202, 37 f.; 6203, 48 f.) eine Korzfassung bieten, fehlt das Wortgen in den beiden anderen Urkunden (6204, 6206).

¹⁵ 6203, 31 f.; 6204, 23, 27.

¹⁶ vgl. die Belege von 1850 im Index der Textedition.

ποροζωσται) nur einmal in 6294,71. Dort bezeichnet sich der Zeuge Scheinute als "geringster Priester und Mönch" (ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἡγούμενος).¹

Der Terminus *apostax*, begegnet dagegen mehrfach. Er wird verwendet in der *patronatus*-Klausel, in der alle Personen und Ämter genannt werden, die als mögliche Anteilehaber des Vertrages anzuzählt werden (genannt werden in 6200, 26 ff.) seien wir es, die wir jetzt Archimandrit und Verwalter sind, seien es die, die nach uns kommen werden, sei es ein Priester, sei es ein Diakon, sei es ein Vorleser, sei es ein Vorsteher, sei es ein Mönch, *apostax*, sei es ein Laie.² Außerdem werden in zwei Urkunden, in 6200,9 und 6200,19, die Käufer der jeweiligen Zellengruppe sowohl als *archont* als auch als *apostaktikoi* (*ἡγούμενοι*) angesprochen mit dem Zusatz "die mit uns in demselben Kloster sind," also Mönche des Apostol-Klosters sind. Wie ist dieser Terminus *apostaktikoi*, den ich nicht übersetzt habe, zu verstehen? Er gehört ursprünglich in das pachomianische Mönchtum.³ Pachom führte von den Novizen die *Apotaxis*, den Verzicht auf die Welt, Ausgangspunkt des Terminus dürfte ein Festswort in Lukas 14,33 sein, wonach wer seinen Jünger werden will, rennt auf allen Besitz zu verzichten. Die *Apotaxis* bezieht sich im frühen Mönchtum auf die Welt und das, was zu ihr gehört, also auch auf Besitztümer und Geld. Der hier in den Urkunden verwendete Terminus *apostaktikoi* (*ἡγούμενοι*) kann nicht mehr dieselbe Bedeutung wie am Anfang des Mönchtums haben. Wenn die *apostaktischen* Mönche "wie hier bezeugt, noch über Geld verfügen, um Klösterneile zu kaufen, dann kann hier nur ein eingeschränkter Verzicht auf die Welt, ohne Verzicht auf Geld, vorliegen, was für das Mönchtum der späteren Zeit charakteristisch ist. Möglich wäre auch, daß der griechische Terminus mit "ab" von den Mönchen nicht mehr verstanden wurde." Im Mönchtum ohne Geldbesitz ist nicht mehr möglich, seitdem Mönche und Klöster an die staatliche Ökonomie Steuern bezahlen müssen. Die *apostaktischen* Mönche *synontoi*, *Pinobantoi* und *Statistoi* begegnen aber nicht nur als Käufer der kleineren Zellengruppe in 6200, sondern werden auch als Käufer der größeren Zellengruppe 6200 genannt. Auch *apostaktische* Mönche im Apostol-Kloster können also mit Geld nicht nur eine, sondern sogar mehrere Zellengruppen kaufen, die ihnen bis zu ihrem Tod gehören, und bei ihrem Tod an die Diakone des Klosters zurückfallen, falls sie die Zellengruppen nicht vorher weiterverkauft. Der Verkauf der Käufer wird zwar beschrieben und auch der Verwendungszweck des beim Verkauf gezahlten Geldes, aber nicht das Motiv für den Kauf genannt. Warum werden Zellengruppen gekauft, also schon nach einigen Jahren weiterverkauft, wenn der Käufer sie bis zu seinem Tod besitzen kann?

Hierfür gibt es vorläufig nur Vermutungen. Die Verkäufe finden statt, weil die Verkaufenden Geld benötigen, entweder für sich selbst oder für das Kloster oder für beide. Sie bleiben aber im Kloster wohnen, d. h. sie müssen neben der Zellengruppe, die sie verkaufen, zumindest noch eine weitere besitzen, in der sie gewohnt haben und in der sie weiter wohnen bleiben. Das legt die Vermutung nahe, daß die gekaufte und wieder verkaufte Zellengruppe eine Form von Geldanlage für die Mönche darstellt. Man kauft eine oder mehrere Zellengruppen mit sein Geld anzulegen, das im pachomianischen Mönchtum beim Eintritt im Kloster an das Kloster abgegeben werden mußte. Jetzt erhält man für das Geld Klosterzellen, die man an andere Mönche weiterverkaufen kann, wenn man Geld benötigt wie mehrere Urkunden aussagen, z.B. Geld für Steuern.

¹ Vgl. Kazan 1985: 122 f.

² Man versteht die in der Urkunde 6200,9 und 26 ff. genannten Ämter, die oft falsch geschrieben wurden, z.B. in 6200,9 die Scheinute richtig nur, falls die griechische Lesart ist:

P. F. Kahlé hat in den Urkunden von Halaizah¹ bemerkt, daß ein offensichtlich wohlhabender Mönch des Apollo-Klosters von Halaizah, der seinem Kloster zur Bezahlung seiner Steuern Geld geliehen hatte, in späteren Urkunden als Klosterabt begegnet. Kahlé schloß daraus, daß diese finanzielle Hilfe dazu beigetragen haben könnte, daß der Mönch als Entgelt der Steuerzahlung für das Kloster Klosterabt geworden ist. Ein ähnlicher Fall könnte auch für das Apollo-Kloster in den drei Urkunden 6206, 6202 und 6201 vorliegen. In der Urkunde 6206 kauft Schenute mit Severus, Paulus und Timotheus – alle werden als apotaktische Mönche bezeichnet – im Jahre 847 die Zellengruppe in der neuen Werkstatt und in 6202 verkauft Schenute im Jahre 849 – nunmehr als Archimandrit und Priester – zusammen mit seinen Brüdern Paulus und Severus, lediglich Timotheus wird nicht mehr genannt, diese Zellengruppe wieder, als die Käufer zu diesem Zeitpunkt Schenute mußte also zwischen 847 und 849 Klosterabt geworden sein, da er 847 beim Kauf der Zellengruppe in der neuen Werkstatt nur als apotaktischer Mönch bezeichnet worden war, und er drei Jahre später als Klosterabt nicht nur diese Zellengruppe in der neuen Werkstatt wieder verkauft, sondern auch die kleinere Zellengruppe in der großen Bilekeria, die sich im Besitz der Diakonia des Klosters befand. Den Verkaufserlös verwandte er nach Aussage der Urkunde 6201 für die Verwaltung der Diakonia des Klosters. Entspricht diese Heuschachtel den Realitäten, dann hätten wir für die Urkunde 6206 das Zeugnis für den Ankauf der Zellengruppe – den Wunsch Klosterabt zu werden – was durch die Urkunden 6202 und 6201 verwirklicht zu sein scheint, aber nicht sicher ist, zumal die in den Urkunden von Halaizah genannten Geldbeträge höher als in Bawit sind.

Einen Schritt weiter geht eine Urkunde aus dem Apa-Mena-Kloster bei Abelt,² die etwa in dieselbe Zeit gehört. Hier knüpft sogar ein Late unter Verlagen für seine und der Mönche Pflichten mit der Bezahlung von 53 Solidi das Amt des Klosterabtes. Der Endpunkt ist dann erreicht, wenn nur noch Vermögende ins Kloster aufgenommen werden, die sowohl ihre eigenen Steuern als auch die des Klosters bezahlen können.

Die 5 Urkunden vermitteln uns überdies für den Zeitraum von knapp 17 Jahren Einblicke in Teile des Apollo-Klosters in abbasidischer Zeit. Wir lernen Gebäude des Klosters und ihre Umgebung mit ihren Anwohnern kennen, erfahren vom Wechsel ihrer Besitzer, Bewohner und ihrer Nachbarn. Die in den Urkunden genannten Personen, die uns als Verkäufer, Käufer, Nachbarn und Zeugen in den datierten Urkunden begegnen, nennen uns ihre Ämter und Berufe. Ihre Namen zeigen uns wie verbreitet noch lateinische und griechische christliche Namen neben koptischen oder ägyptisiererten Namenstypen waren. Die in den Urkunden genannten Ämter lassen den monastischen und klerikalen Aufbau der Hierarchie im Kloster erkennen. Selbst die unteren Diener ihrer Funktionen (Bis sich zum Teil aus ihrem mehrfachen Auftreten in den datierten Urkunden ablesen). Das Bildungsniveau der Zeugen ist an der Verwendung der griechischen und koptischen Sprache, auch an der Rechtschreibung der Wörter und dem Stil ihrer Schrift ablesbar.³

Für das Mönchtum dieser Zeit ist vor allem wichtig, daß offensichtlich durch die Steuerzahlungen an den islamischen Staat und die dadurch verursachte Finanznot des Klosters und der Mönche die ursprüngliche Klosterverfassung, nach der sich die Klosterzellen im Besitz der Diakonia des Klosters

¹ P. Pap. 139 v. 2, vgl. dazu Kahlé 1994, 1, 36 u. 41.

² BP 13927, vgl. dazu Krieger 1983, 175 und Krieger 1990, 124–27 und 304.

³ Ägyptisches Institut in den A. I. gesammelt 37801.

befanden, geändert wurde und nun im Apollon-Kloster Zellengruppen gekauft und verkauft werden konnten, die aber beim Tod des jeweiligen Besitzers an die Diakonia des Klosters zurückfielen und neu verkauft werden konnten, um dem Kloster neue Einkünfte zu verschaffen und somit die weitere Existenz des Klosters zu sichern. Möglich – aber nicht sicher – ist die Annahme, daß mit dem Kauf mehrerer Zellengruppen auch Klosterämter, vielleicht sogar das Amt des Klosterabtes, erworben werden konnte.

Von der Publikation des Nachlasses von Sarah J. Clackson, vor allem der von ihr zu Bawit gesammelten koptischen und griechischen Papyri, und der Auffindung und Publikation neuer Urkunden aus den neuen Ausgrabungen in Bawit erhielten wir uns weitere Ansätze über das Mönchtum in Bawit. Auch die Veröffentlichungen der arabischen zeitgenössischen Quellen und Papyri und die Zusammenarbeit mit den Vertretern der arabischen Papyrologie können hilfreich bei der Lösung der angesprochenen Probleme sein.

Bibliographie

- Boud'hors, A. (1995): "Papyrus de Clédat au Musée du Louvre," in: Fluck, C. et al. (eds.), *Égypte: le papyrus. Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden), I, Bechert, 29-35.
- Boud'hors, A. (1999): "Suche Clédat" (1999), 233-346.
- Boud'hors, A. (2004): *Cherche grecs et coptes: les papyrus de Jean Marguerite Boud'hors* (J. Boud'hors) (Le Caire), 17 et 43 pages. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO), 17.
- Clackson, S. J. (2001): "Reconstructing the Archives of the Monastery of Apollon at Bawit," in: Andoulet, J. et al. (eds.), *III^e du VII^e congrès international de papyrologie 1998* (Istituto papirologico "V. Vilella" Firenze), I, 219-236.
- Clackson, S. J. (2004): "Museum Archaeology and Coptic Papyrology: the Bawit Papyri," in: Immerzeel, M. und Vriel, J. van der (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden 2000, I, Leuven-Paris-Dudley MA: Peeters (ed.), 4133, 477-489.
- Clédat, J. (1900): *Les monastères et la papyrologie de Bawit* (J. Benazeth et Rutschowskaya, M.-H. (eds.), avec des contributions de A. Boud'hors, R.-G. Coquin, J. Guillaud, Le Caire (BIB. 10) 111).
- Coquin, R.-G. (1977): "Apollon de Ithkoschos et Apollon de Bawit," *Orientalia*, N. S., 46, 435-446.
- Crum, W. E. (1939): *Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Grossmann, P. (1993): "Römer des Klosters Dair al-Balata in Oberägypten," *JH*, 36, 171-205. (Münster: Aschendorf).
- Hengstenberg, W. (1934): "Bemerkungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums," in: *Textes des congrès international des études égyptiennes* (Sofia (BIB. 9), 155-362).

- Krause, M. (1985). "Zur Möglichkeit von Besitz im apostolischen Mönchtum Ägypten," in: Orlandi, T. und Wisse, F. (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Roma: C. I. M., 120-133.
- Krause, M. (1990). "Clare Schmidts Beiträge zum ägyptischen Mönchtum auf Grund koptischer Urkunden," in: Nagel, P. (ed.), *Clare Schmidt - Missionsin der Martin-Luther-Universität* (1988, Halle (Saale) *Historisch-theologische Beiträge* 1990/2), 119-127.
- Krause, M. (2003). "Zu den nach Aposteln benannten Klöstern in Ägypten," in: Beltz, W. et al. (eds.), *Sprache und Geist. Peter Nagel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Halle (Saale) *Historische Beiträge zur Theologiegeschichte* 35), 149-166.
- MacGoull, I. S. B. (1994). "The Bawit Surnacts. Texts and Translations," *BOS* 31, 141-158.
- Imml, St. (1986). *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Teil 3 (G-L). Wiesbaden: L. Reichert (Beiträge zum Furlinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B Nr. 41, 1).

THE MONASTIC RULES OF SHENOUTE

BRIAN L. VICKS

One kind of scholarship that especially delighted Sarah Jackson was the publication of new data—either stuff that nobody had ever seen before, or collections of things whose significance was unknown until Sarah collected and explained them. Remembering this wonderful facet of Sarah's scholarship, I would like to describe an extremely interesting new set of data (namely, my collection of nearly five hundred very early monastic commands that I have found in the surviving portions of the *Canons* of Shenoute). My work on this corpus has only just begun, and this is an early progress report. This particular topic will take us, of course, into the earliest forms of Christian organized monasticism. The earliest Christian monasteries were in Egypt, where the founders and leaders spoke and wrote the Coptic language. Among these, the best documented figure is Shenoute (c. 347–465). Shenoute's writings—especially his work called *Canons*—provide a scholarly detailed picture of Christian life in the third generation of monasticism. Shenoute was not the founder of his monastic federation; he was its third leader.

Shenoute wrote the *Canons* over a stretch of eighty years— from c. 347 to 385/465 (more or less) while he was the leader of a federation of three religious congregations: two monodieties and a monastery, together with a cluster of hermits in the adjacent desert. This was in the Nile valley, opposite Aswan. Led by Paul Towner, we are in the process of making a first complete edition of the surviving parts of this work. Despite its title, Shenoute's *Canons* is not simply a set of monastic rules. Most of the *Canons* contain not rules but general moralistic discourse and self-presentation. In the course of this discourse, Shenoute often gives out or more often carefully formulated rules of behavior that specifically apply to the members of his ascetic federation. But my interest here is in the rules themselves, not the literary matrix where they are embedded. I want to raise two questions: what are they like? And what is the basis of their authority?

The genre of Christian monastic rules had been invented somewhat earlier by Pachomius the Great (c. 3–292/346), and indeed not far from Shenoute's neighborhood. A written corpus of monastic rules circulated up and down the Pachomian federation. As an organization, Shenoute's monastic federation more or less followed the Pachomian model, though it was administratively independent.

My initial working corpus consists of 47 individual passages in Shenoute's *Canons* that seem to be, or to cite, or to collect, a monastic rule. If all of these *Canons* had survived,¹ my corpus would be much much larger. In order to assemble the initial working corpus of commands, I have cast the net fairly wide. Of course I omitted general moral commands having no reference to monastic life. On the other hand, I did include a variety of rhetorical and grammatical forms, some of them parallel to Pachomius, and others very different. I would now like to describe the two main formal types in my corpus.

¹ A dozen more of the *Canons* are known from some kind of text.

² *Canons* quoted in *Canons* (1997), *Canons* 1.1.

³ The *Canons* were composed under the supervision of a committee of 12, as discussed in a March 2000 discussion of the generous initiative of the British, Swiss, and Norwegian scholars and the Russian Philologist.

⁴ Although some 300 pages of the *Canons* have been lost, it is not a part of the complete work.

and-so." Another third have the curse at the end, almost always expressed as *ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ*: "anyone who does so-and-so shall be under a curse."

Now for examples of the Shemoutean curse prohibition:

"Curse be any boy who removes a thorn from the test of a boy without being commanded and in a place alone" *ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ qḥm ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ qḥm ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ*

Or:

"Any who stare with desirous looking at their own nakedness shall be under a curse." *ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ*

There are so many commands formulated in this way, that they really cry out for explanation. The Shemoutean curses are not generally paired with blessings, as we sometimes find in early Christian rhetoric, so they are not exactly a known rhetorical form for issuing instructions. I have found one Biblical parallel, in the legislation of Deuteronomy chapter 27, which describes Israel's reaffirmation of the Ten Commandments by acclamation. Here a series of curses are formulated *ḥwḥqḥpḥ qḥm ḥwḥqḥpḥ* with a constant refrain *ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ ḥwḥqḥpḥ*. "Curse be any who does so-and-so, and all the people shall say: So be it."

Of course, Shemoute's curse formula might be nothing more than a personal tool of rhetoric. However, the problem is made more complicated by Eissfeldt's discovery that there are no less than three manuscripts of *Shemoute's Canon* in which the curse rules were numbered sequentially in the margins. All three manuscripts are fragmentary. The surviving curse numbers in Codex Ud range from 6 to 31 (and presumably beyond); the surviving ones in Codex YA run from 56 to 204 (with many lacunae),¹⁴ and the sole surviving number in Codex VD is 5.¹⁵ Each manuscript is copied by a different copyist. Since the three surviving manuscripts do not overlap, they may well attest to a single sequence of numbers. It is a curious fact that the numbering series from 6 to 11 occurs in Canon book 4, while the series 56 to 204 occurs in book 5.

Marginal curse no. 5 in book 2

Marginal curse nos. 6-11 in book 4

Marginal curse nos. 56-204 in book 5

If these three number sequences belong to the same numbering, this would seem to suggest that the sequence of curse numbers was completely independent of the volume numbering of Shemoute's *Canon*. However, precisely because the three sequences never overlap, one cannot prove that any two

¹⁴ Canon book 4, AC 75. Vienna Nationalbibliothek inv. K 2000, recto and verso.

¹⁵ Canon book 5, VA 198. Paris Bibl. nationale inv. 26, verso, ms. Sept. 1081, 137 verso.

¹⁶ Deuteronomy 17:14-26, text in the *philosophical canon edition of Papyrus Morgan-Ebers*, Hivermat 1922, inv. M 596, 1-139 verso column 5, 140 recto column 5.

¹⁷ Eissfeldt 2004, 162.

¹⁸ Eissfeldt 2004, 177-78.

¹⁹ VD frag. 2 verso. Cairo Institut français d'archéologie, inv. no. 2349A, Eissfeldt p. 60, 26 XIII, 2004.

scribes had access to the same system of numbering. The three number sequences might also, as Wolf-Peter Fink has reminded me, be unrelated, each from a different numbering system.

Furthermore, the numbered curses can be interrupted by other types of material. In other words, when Shenoute utters commands *in other forms*, they *do not* have numbers, even when these interrupt a series of numbered curses. This, too, might suggest that the curse prohibitions had an independent existence.¹⁷ These arguments are open to doubt, but at least they might suggest that Shenoute used a separate rule book in the form of numbered curse prohibitions, which he occasionally quoted to add authority to what he was saying. Perhaps he – or his scribe – even wrote the appropriate curse numbers in the margin of his text as a mark of reference.

Let us now consider the content of the numbered curse prohibitions, looking for clues about their particular social context or authorship. Table 1 is a list of the topics of all the numbered curses. This range of cursed monastic sins is similar to the overall range of punishable deeds in my entire corpus of Shenoutean commands, and thus in terms of its content it can be called typically Shenoutean. Furthermore, the organizational structure seems compatible with the structure of Shenoute's federation.¹⁸

TABLE 1. TOPICS OF THE NUMBERED CURSES

| No. | Topic | No. | Topic |
|-----|--|-----|--|
| 1 | Murder, Western, generally, apostasy, false claims | 18 | Disrespect towards the Mosaic Law |
| 2 | Corruption of children | 29 | Disrespect towards the father of the bishop |
| 3 | Idolatrial leaders, Christians, school | 30 | Disrespect towards the bishop's own possessions |
| 4 | Sex | 31 | Disrespect towards the bishop's own prohibition of profits |
| 5 | Sex | 32 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 9 | Behaviour of other ascetics | 33 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 10 | Violating a church's altar | 34 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 11 | Drinking | 35 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 30 | Behaviour of confessor's son | 36 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 32 | Prostitution and false repentance | 37 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 33 | Sex | 38 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 34 | Sex | 39 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 35 | Sex | 40 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 36 | Sex | 41 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 130 | Disrespect towards Sts | 42 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 117 | Disrespect towards the emperor | 43 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 118 | Disrespect towards the king | 44 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 45 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 46 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 47 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 48 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 49 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 50 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 51 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 52 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 53 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 54 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 55 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 56 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 57 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 58 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 59 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 60 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 61 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 62 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 63 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 64 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 65 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 66 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 67 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 68 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 69 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 70 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 71 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 72 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 73 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 74 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 75 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 76 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 77 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 78 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 79 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 80 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 81 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 82 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 83 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 84 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 85 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 86 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 87 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 88 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 89 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 90 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 91 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 92 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 93 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 94 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 95 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 96 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 97 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 98 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 99 | Sexual immorality, marriage |
| 119 | Disrespect towards the king | 100 | Sexual immorality, marriage |

¹⁷ For the record, most occurrences of the curses do not have correct marginal numbering, and this kind of evidence is no more than a suggestion.

¹⁸ I am weeping as I speak, because we have not yet established a more secure legal position, with God as my witness and our holy brethren who are standing with these words in their witness. (Shenoute's letters, Book 2, XI 221-2) (Kilger 1986, 120).

¹⁹ Described in Layton 2002, 28-29.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amelineau, J. (ed.) (1895) *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne des IV^e au VII^e siècles* (MMAF IV). Paris: Leroux.
- Ennelt, S. (2004) *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*. 2 vols. Louvain: Peeters.
- Hyvernat, H. (ed.) (1922) *Bibliothèque Patrologique Mégypte, indices alphabétiques et photographiques*. Vol. I. Rome.
- Krawiec, R. (2002) *Shenoute and the Hymns of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kuhn, K. H. (ed.) (1986) *Letters and Sermons of Basil*. Louvain: Imprimerie orientale.
- Layton, B. (2002) "Social Structure and Food Consumption in an Early Christian Monastery: The Evidence of Shenoute's *Canons* and the White Monastery Federation A.D. 385-465," *Isis* 115, 28-55.
- Lefort, J.-H. (ed.) (1966) *Théophraste, *Περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς* et de ses disciples*. Louvain: Imprimerie orientale.
- Leipoldt, J. (ed.) (1908) *Ammonius aschmuneishas Vita et opera omnia*. Vol. 3. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Leipoldt, J. (ed.) (1913) *Ammonius aschmuneishas Vita et opera omnia*. Vol. 4. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Munier, H. (1910) *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos. 9201-9404: Monuments coptes*. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Orlandi, F. (2004) *Corpus dei monasteri copti del Cairo*. Electronic media online by subscription (20.XII.2004) at <http://mcsad.let.univroma1.it/cptc/antweri-omniata.html>

THE CHURCH, CLERICS, MONKS AND CREDIT IN THE PAPYRI

THESE RESEARCH RESULTS ARE

Among the documents concerning the Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollo, texts relating to loans given (and, much less frequently, taken) to its monks form a substantial group. Such documents are also not infrequent in other monastic centres, e.g. *Monast. P. Mich.* or *P. Mus. Papir.* This led Smith & Iickson to the conclusion that monasteries performed a public service by providing what appear to have been interest-free 'banking' facilities for laypeople.¹ I was struck by this statement and decided to take a closer look at monks' and clerics' involvement in lending and borrowing in the papyri.

The fact that layman clerics and monks disposed of considerable personal and institutional wealth and frequently conducted transactions involving credit is well-known, but has received relatively little attention up to now, the notable exception being the recent book of Georg Schmitz, in which some relevant sources are quoted.¹ In fact, these sources refer to two phenomena: the role of credit in the financial dealings of various Church institutions, represented by members of their clergy, and credit in private financial dealings of monks and clerics. The two cannot always be separated from each other, esp. the latter evidence suggests that monasteries frequently borrowed money from (or lent to) their own monks. In the latter case, sometimes it is not entirely clear whether a clergyman appearing in a contract acted on his own behalf or that of his institution.²

The purpose of the present paper is therefore twofold: to analyze the role of credit in informal dealings of 4 church institutions and in private affairs of the clergy and monks. The latter can tell us potentially a lot about the financial and economic standing of this social group. Roger Remondou cited the evidence of loan contracts as proof for the 4 extreme clergy's wealth, stating "in some cases out of ten clergy men would appear as creditors, not debtors". Although I hope to be able to show that this proposition is far from true, the loan contracts can be revealing in this respect!

Finally, I shall try to answer the question whether the Church, through financial activities of its institutions and staff, was really an important source of credit for the lay population, providing the "banking" facilities of Sarah Jackson period. And if it did, whether it was indeed interest-free credit, in keeping with ecclesiastical views on usury.

$$L^1(\mathbb{R}^n) \hookrightarrow L^1(\mathbb{R}^n) \hookrightarrow L^1(\mathbb{R}^n) \hookrightarrow \dots$$

The present study was designed to determine whether the use of a computer-based program could improve the accuracy of the measurement of the following variables: (1) the number of correct responses, (2) the number of incorrect responses, (3) the number of responses that were not recorded, (4) the number of responses that were recorded but not scored, (5) the number of responses that were recorded but not scored and (6) the number of responses that were recorded but not scored.

^aAgitation time: 1 h for the first experiment, 2 h for the second; ^bAgitation speed: 100 rpm for the first experiment, 200 rpm for the second.

⁴ The assumption is, of course, that due to the important role of grapes in wine, winegrowers are disinclined to selling wine in bulk, even if it helps preserving one of the most important characteristics of the wine, what appears to be of an utmost importance, and even contradicted by the fact that winegrowers are often selling wine in bulk. The point is, more to be acting on the market. The point is that, if winegrowers are not acting on the market, the winegrowers could be regarded as stating that the debt of wine has been paid. If winegrowers do not buy back wine, the winegrowers' own wine is taken out in the name of a bunch even though the rest of the wine is sold out. The winegrowers' own wine is not bought by the winegrowers' puppy, as it is not buy a properly published.

¹ Remarquons que les 150 000 francs de la dotation annuelle des classes pourpensionnés ne sont pas répartis de façon égale dans les différents départements. En 1984, les départements de la région parisienne ont obtenu 10,5 % de la dotation, soit 15 750 francs par élève, contre 10 000 francs par élève pour les départements de la région Rhône-Alpes.

Before turning to documentary sources, I shall briefly discuss some normative and literary evidence for credit and usury in Late Antiquity. In the Greco-Roman world, short-term loans of cash or in kind were always one of the preferred ways of making use of accumulated capital. In the classical Roman law period the maximum allowed rate of interest was not to exceed the traditional rate of 12 per cent per year (*thalakothition taken*, *carthagina tentatio*) for loans of money for everybody except senators who were prohibited from demanding more than 6 per cent (Lb. 2.33.4a). This rate was slightly increased as a result of Constantine the Great's currency reform, to 12.5 and to 25% respectively for loans in kind the traditional rate was 6% irrespective of the duration of the loan (*thalakothition* (Lb. 2.33.1)).

Influenced perhaps by the Christian views on usury (which I discuss below), Justinian reduced these rates in C. I. 528 to 6% for 25% or lower classes and 4%–14.2% for the *res obnoxio* respectively (C. I. 4.32.20). However, people involved in trade and banking were allowed to charge 8%–8.33%, while for the naval loan the maximum was set at 12%–12.5% (previously it had been unrestricted). In several novels of C. I. 534 (Nov. 32, 34) the same emperor modified these rates (including special regulations for loans to poor farmers: 4%–4.25% for loans in cash and 12% for loans in kind). Another special exception was established by Novel 120 of C. I. 544, which set a maximum of 3% for loans to churches and charitable foundations.

These regulations remained in force in the Byzantine Empire into the 9th century, or at least we do not know of any attempts to alter them. We can safely assume that in Egypt this was the law in interest for the remainder of the Byzantine period and probably even longer. It can be noted here that in Middle Ages the attitude towards interest in Byzantium was more relaxed than in the Latin West, despite several attempts on the part of single emperors, since it was never completely abolished.

However, there is another factor which influenced credit and interest: Christian ideology. The Church Fathers condemned any interest received on loans, except on the disapproval of usury found in several passages of the Old Testament (e.g. 22, 24, Lev. 25, 36, Psalm 15, 140, 5, Ecclesi. 10, 9) and allowed only in transactions with foreigners (e.g. 23, 20, 21). A considerable number of treatises and sermons on this subject survive, among those critical of interest we may mention Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom in the East, and Ambrose, Jerome and Pope Leo the Great in the West. Their moral condemnation extended to any form of interest, including those in kind.

This thinking quickly found its way into Church legislation. As early as 811-1306 the Council of Elvira in Spain threatened to depose clerics employing usury. Laymen who refused to give up usury were to be excluded from the Church. The Council of Ales in 1141 was only concerned with usury amongst clergy. Usurious priests were to be excommunicated, but 120, as was

[illegible]

the Penitential Canon of Nicaea (C. E. 325) its Canon 17 was the most important prohibition of usury: clergymen violating this rule were liable to be deposed.¹

Similar bans were frequently repeated, e.g. in the canons of the council of Laodicea (C. E. 325–381; Can. 4), the council of Hippona (C. E. 495; Can. 22), the third council of Carthage (4–5th c., Can. 16); in the Apostolic Canons (Can. ap. VIII 47, 44) and in the Canons of Pseudo-Basilius (Can. Bas. 58). All these provisions concern ordained priests – laymen, including monastic monks, were subject to the regulations of the civil law.²

Even if we had no documentary sources at our disposal, the frequency with which such prohibitions were issued about usury, that they were to some extent futile. Various church institutions – churches, chapels, monasteries and charitable foundations – were also business enterprises. In so far as they had incomes and expenditures, sometimes they acted with surplus capital that could be (and was, as we shall see later) at interest, sometimes they were forced to borrow money to meet their obligations.

On the other hand we also find numerous monks and clerics involved in the process of moneylending on both sides, as private creditors or debtors. The church did not provide for the daily needs of all its clerics (or monks, for that matter), so that they had to earn their living exercising mundane professions – including sometimes moneylending. Personal poverty and asceticism of clerics and monks was an ideal that was often advocated, but not a condition *concurrentem*, as in some Roman Catholic orders. Wealthy people entering the ranks of clergy or becoming a monk retained their personal property, even though a Novel of Justinian (Nov. 5, 5 of C. E. 528) required of people entering monasteries to dispose of their wealth (there again a need to prohibit is a proof of a practice to the contrary). Even a poor monk could accumulate some wealth through selling products of his handiwork, as one anecdote told by Jerome about the monk of Strigianus. That is, a monk died at the Mount of Strigian, leaving a small hoard of money which he had earned by weaving flax. After some deliberation the monks decided to bury the corpse with their owner, quoting Saint Peter, “My money perish with thee” (Acts 5, 26). Such wealth could – and was – as numerous sources attest – be used as source of credit. But let us first look at the dealings of the church institutions.

1.4 THE CHURCH AS CREDITOR AND DEBTOR

The list of documents featuring church institutions as creditors is not a very long one.³ (See Table A1) but such texts are numerous enough to show that the church could and did practice moneylending. To be exact, not all of these contracts regard loans, debts could result from other transactions, e.g. in P. Kollé III 153 (A1) a farmer acknowledges to a monastery his debt resulting from unpaid rent on monastic land that he had leased. Similarly, we can imagine that other agreements that we classify as “loans” had some other sort of transaction behind them; the documents seldom inform us about the

¹ On the Canon 17 of Nicaea (325) see Bidez, 1928/4 and 1934/5.

² Schindler 2002, 162–202, on canon law, e.g. p. 165, 167.

³ Schindler 2002, 203–253, on canon law, e.g. p. 247, 249.

Levy, 1997, 11–13.

⁴ On this record of which record number is 1000, XVI 1500 (A2) records a loan for operation of a mill/bakery belonging to a monastery. The monastery (rightly or not) appears to be private property of a Cistercian late doublet/benevolent who grants the loan. I am not sure where to find it as the creditor in this case.

circumstances in which they were drawn. For that reason we are usually unable to answer the most interesting question: why would some people turn to a church or a monastery for a loan and why would it be granted in some cases. Most probably personal contacts with church officials were decisive, especially in case of the monasteries lending money to or borrowing from their own monks, which was quite common (see below). We also find several cases of priests running up debts with ecclesiastical institutions, e.g. *CC* 1100 (194 cAbt. *P. Lond. Sup.* 1031) (A1st, possibly also *CC* 1000 311 (A13)).

In several agreements church institutions obviously try to secure some future services in exchange for loans, e.g. in *CC* 1000 *Sup.* 4112 (A2) a debt of one *solidus* owed to the Theban monastery of Apa Plouthammion is to be repaid with work: the debtor undertakes to cultivate one *aroura* of the monastery's land. *P. Harran* 54 (A4) records a loan advanced by the church of St. Victor in Arsinoëpolis to a leather coffer. The loan (2 *solidi* less 15 *denarii*) was apparently to be repaid by the artisan with work, i.e. making of some object for the altar of the church. Unfortunately this interesting text breaks off at this crucial point, but it seems that we are dealing here with some kind of commission with advance payment.¹⁴ Such commercial credit would have been advantageous for both parties, providing the artisan with means for buying materials and ensuring the creditor that the work will be really carried out, so it is no wonder that also church officials would have resorted to it.

Similar ways of thinking were concealed behind the agreement of *P. Rylands* 196 (A11) in which a *dekano* (of a monastery?) advanced a payment of 12 *solidi* to a certain Theodule of Helinopolis against a promise of delivery of 90 *arabai* of corn of Epephi, i.e. just after the harvest. Here an ecclesiastical institution uses the instrument of 'sale on delivery' to secure future supply.

The most notable single text featuring a church institution acting as a creditor and lending substantial sums of money is preserved in *P. Oxy.* 1311 (497 cAbt.). The settlement of claims of c. 1545 recounts a complicated story of financial dealings involving a little known Oxyrhynchite monastery of Abbas Hierax, an Oxyrhynchite landowner Diogenes, and the Apiones family. What interests us here is the fact that Diogenes, while staying in Constantinople, had borrowed from an agent of the monastery eleven *solidi* of gold at 6% interest (the maximum amount allowed by law at this period). He secured the loan with an antichretic pledge of a piece of land in the Oxyrhynchite. Some time afterwards he contracted with the same monastery another loan of fifty *solidi* pledging his entire property (*hypotheca generalis*). This was only the beginning of a lengthy affair: the debts proved difficult to be recovered, but here two points need to be stressed. Firstly, a little known provincial monastery was wealthy enough to send a business agent as far as to Constantinople with substantial sums of money, at least 150 *solidi*, but possibly even more. The exact purpose of his mission to the capital remains unfortunately unknown, it was most probably not moneylending as the money could have been also invested in Egypt: the eventual debtor was, after all, an Oxyrhynchite landowner. Apparently the agent had much freedom as to how to invest this capital. The sum, 150 *solidi*, gives us an idea about the volume of capital that a monastery had at its disposal and could invest in loans, even

¹⁴ Two debts equal with work see *P. Harran* 5 (naps. 7, 273-4).

¹⁵ On *antichretic* see e.g. *P. Harran* 5 (naps. 44) (on the nature of this agreement in this particular case see the editor's comments to *P. H.* naps. 31, 302-104).

¹⁶ Perhaps a similar arrangement was also made between c. 1110? (A10) in which Abba Jakob, hegumenos of a monastery in the Upper nome, advanced 10 *solidi* to a *epistates*. However, since we are not told how the debt is to be repaid, the transaction may have been a mere advance or any other sort of agreement.

instrument of "advance sale" could have been advantageous to both parties and not necessarily a sign that the monastery was unable to meet its fiscal obligations and had to borrow cash at usurious rates.¹⁵ I do not wish to imply that the monastery was definitely not in financial distress, but borrowing money to pay the taxes is in my view not enough of a proof for that. We simply do not have enough information on the situation behind the transactions of this particular monastery.

A good example of problems arising from a debt incurred by a monastery can be found in *SB 411* 9683 (B37).¹⁶ We find here a petition written by a monk, Euthymios, who complains that a soldier Paulus had seized an anchor belonging to a monastery in Aiskyon polis. Apparently he did so as a reprisal for an unsettled debt of the deacon Hormis. We do not know for sure whether Hormis had borrowed money on behalf of the monastery, but the context suggests so: the author of the petition does not protest the debtor's trying to satisfy his claims from the property of the monastery. He merely states that the anchor was worth much more than the 2400 oxydras constituting the original debt. The involvement of another cleric, the *protoprotopos* Apa Nektarios from the same monastery, who made a public statement about the debt, also suggests that it was the monastic community that was regarded as responsible for the debt by both parties.

5. CLERICS AND MONKS AS CREDITORS

*The Heidelberger Griechisch-orientalische Papirusmankunden Ägyptens*¹⁷ lists ca. 150 Greek documents labeled as "loan" and "sales or delivery" for the period A. D. 300–900. In these we

¹⁵ There is a vast bibliography on *epistates* with debtors and slaves (e.g. *Laurenz 1986*), and the literature quoted therein expands on it. There has been some controversy about the legal status of *epistates* and whether their common transactions constituted real or only fictitious sales, but it is not relevant for my purposes. To be sure, later on real estate transactions became more complex and difficult to register, but earlier on they were relatively straightforward. I am not trying to say that their debt registration was of a mechanical character, going through some formal monastic procedure with no consideration of its rights or sources of exchange, but this view is belied at the very least by the *epistates* and *protoprotopoi* discussed by Rappart (1977). For the latter there was the question of the proper procedure for the registration of a real-estate transaction, and the *protoprotopos* was responsible for the loan or delivery of a piece of land, which was his responsibility. I present an analysis of a higher rate for 4 years (15% up to 15%); however, that is not a true interest rate, because up to year 600 it was lower than 10% (see Art. 16 of Justinian's Code), jumping to 12% in year 600, and 15% after that. The difference between 10% and 15% compared to Justinian's 6% on 4% allowed for loans to farmers is substantial. However, the *epistates* and *protoprotopoi* were not the final authority of a community's prices, neither they set much loans or mortgages. I have seen contracts of sales, where their prices were higher, and repaid after harvest when they were much lower (e.g. Leizer 1967: 13). The effective interest may have been much lower than the nominal 15%. The problem is, however, not solved.

¹⁶ First published and discussed by Zinger (1968).

¹⁷ Zinger (1974: 296) comments: "It is clear from the signs and seals that the monastery was the actual debtor, whereas Apa Hormis was merely a representative of the monastery. Rather, that the monastery was responsible for the debt, made by the monks. I can not go back to understand this statement. If Zinger is right, the monks, as a whole monastic community, or the monastery as a community, then the signature and seal was signed by the monks, who represented the monastery, or by some deacon or another church official, who had the authority to represent the monastery. I say that the monastery was responsible for private debts incurred by individual monks, then this is not as it seems to be the case, but, Apa Hormis (1970: 47) whom Zinger quotes here, also suggests that in the provincial capital (e.g. *protopolis*) or *protopolis* (e.g. *protopolis*) the monks were often regarded as the private persons of the abbots, seeing the preoccupation of the imperial law. This does not mean that abbots were responsible for obligations of their monks. See also pp. 1–2 on the *epistates* and *protoprotopoi* in the *protopolis* correspondence.

¹⁸ <http://www.museum.heidelberg.de/exst/pap.html>.

should add some 400 Coptic texts similarly identified in the *Brussels Coptic Database*.¹² Together they make up some 750 known documents relating to the debts from the Byzantine and early Arab periods.¹³ Among these I was able to identify ca. 80 documents¹⁴ featuring monks and members of the clergy (presbyters and deacons) as private debtors and/or creditors (Tables C, D and E), i.e. roughly 10%. Admittedly, such 'statistics' must be treated with caution—the sample is fairly small and publication of a single new monastic document could change the proportion—but we can safely state that this particular social group played a not insignificant part in the process of lending and borrowing.¹⁵ On the other hand, lending and borrowing was relatively widely practiced and acceptable economic activity for monks and clerics.

Among these documents we find monks and clergymen appearing as creditors in ca. 55 cases and as debtors in ca. 35 cases.¹⁶ The 10:1 ratio given by Remondinot (see above, n. 5) is far from accurate; 2:1 is more correct for the material available at present.¹⁷ But in my view the sample is too small to draw far-fetched conclusions; the flow of new publications can easily change the proportion. The slight prevalence of ecclesiastical creditors over debtors is not a strong argument in the discussion on the wealth in the churchmen's hands.

What is potentially more fruitful is the analysis of the sums changing hands in such transactions. A glance at the contrasts featuring monks and clerics as private creditors (Tables C) and D shows that these sums were usually relatively modest. Most of them stay just above the borderline, below which loans went unrecorded.¹⁸ So among money debts we find several sums smaller than 1 *solidus*;¹⁹ the most common debts are those of 1 *solidus*,²⁰ 2 *solidi*²¹ or 3 *solidi*.²² More substantial debts are less

¹² <http://dev.ill.ac.be/~pascal/cogit/Basel/ptp/pape.htm> (accessed 20 July 2010).

¹³ In this number there are not only debt acknowledgements but also other documents mentioning debts, e.g. letters, receipts, petitions, etc.

¹⁴ Here and elsewhere I prefer to give the approximate, rather than exact, figure, since in some documents (especially at the beginning) it is difficult to ascertain the number of pages and, consequently, the number of lines.

¹⁵ Of course several more cases exist in the larger, mainly Coptic, population. On the other hand, the papyri record only transactions involving lay persons. The majority of papyri loans probably went unrecorded, so we can take into consideration only the transactions on the available data.

¹⁶ These figures add up to 100 because there are 10 cases of monks acting as appearing on each side of the transaction, such documents are counted twice.

¹⁷ We have to bear in mind that the evidence may be biased by the general pattern of the documents: debt acknowledgements remained in the hands of the creditor (at least until the debt was repaid) and the texts kept by monks in their monasteries. If the large part of the loans were more likely to be preserved than papers stored in towns and villages within the civilisation zone.

¹⁸ It would require a thorough analysis of all preserved debt acknowledgements to see where this bottom line was, but my guess for the Byzantine period is that it was around 1 *denarius*, smaller debts appearing only rarely (but see e.g. *CP* I 105 ff. 534 or *CP* IV 34 ff. 460).

¹⁹ *CP* I 105 (Mitt. Egypt. 175, 176, 177), *CP* II 105 (179), *CP* III 106 (173), *CP* IV 54 (140), 144 (140), 165 (153), *P. Mon. Egypt.* 40 (110) and 42 (112).

²⁰ *CP* I 106 (176), *P. Vind.* III 34 (120), *CP* IV 52 (135), *Tablet. Mon. Egypt.* 176 (138), perhaps *CP* IV 55 (141), *P. Apocrypha* 5 (177), 17 (180) and 21 (182), *P. Mon. Egypt.* 33 (110), perhaps *P. Duke inv.* 81 (193), *P. Berol.* 114 (190).

²¹ *P. Berol. Egypt.* 312 (127) and 122 (130), *Tablet. Mon. Egypt.* 27 (140), *P. Aegy.* 58 (122), *Tablet.* III 364 (145), *CP* IV 53 (140), *P. Mon. Egypt.* 38 (118).

²² *P. Pinar.* II 57 (133), perhaps *P. Mon. Egypt.* 38 (118), *P. Aegy.* 135 (130) and 139 (130).

frequent⁴⁰ and do not exceed 9 *solidi* with the possible exception of *P. Habt.* 28 (l. 32), but the reading of the sum '50 *solidi*' is very doubtful and I find it quite improbable in a transaction among villagers.⁴¹

Besides money debts we also find some debts in kind, usually wine and corn.⁴² The most intriguing of them is recorded in *P. Rec. Corp.* 208 (l. 42). It is a loan (probably a true loan, not a sale on delivery) of '1800 jars of wine'. If the reading is correct, we have here evidence for a very impressive transaction – it would be interesting to know the monetary value of that large amount of wine. We can compare it with the sale on delivery of *Ab. N.* 14^v (l. 22) in which the creditor is a woman bearing the titles *episcopos*, *q. n. n.* *episcopos*, normally reserved for members of the clergy⁴³ – perhaps a nun (she is represented by a *p. n. n.* *episcopos*). The debtor is to deliver 2400 wine barrels – another possible example of the clergy's involvement in the wine trade. Unfortunately in both cases we are not entirely sure of the status of the creditors.

Our documents seldom shed light on the motives behind the deal. In most cases we are unable to tell whether a particular papyrus records a casual (friendly, possibly interest-free) loan between acquaintances or a business transaction aimed at profit. Such information would be gained from surviving archives, but unfortunately we have only one archive of money-lending priests and it comes from outside of Egypt, from Neapolis in Palestine. Among the papyri found in the monastery church of SS. Sergius and Hecumenus there are two archives that can be associated with one family, which kept the post of the abbot (*epigrammon*) for about one hundred years in the 7th century. One member of this family, Patrick son of Sergius (died 411–928) appears three times as creditor in the archive: in *P. Alex.* III 14 (C28), 46 (l. 29) and 54^v (l. 30).⁴⁴ In the first of these Patrick acknowledges that he has received the receipt of the borrower. The sum is relatively small and the deal appears to have been rather minimal,⁴⁵ especially when compared with the full-blown binary contract of *P. Alex.* III 46. In this text Patrick lends to one Abraham the much more considerable sum of 9 *solidi* *forti* which were subject to 6% interest (and the remaining 4 interest-free). It seems that we are dealing here with two sorts of transactions: a rather informal 'friendly' loan with no interest and a regular business transaction.

Some eighty years later Patrick's son George (himself also a *epigrammon*) appears as the borrower in two contracts drawn in Gaza. In *P. Alex.* III 58 (l. 3) the lender is a lady, Synopsion of Thengite, who later succeeded his father as the Abbot of SS. Sergius and Hecumenus. While in Gaza he lent 4 *solidi* belonging to his father to a certain Sergius son of Menas for the latter's land tax (demouron). The money was handed over directly to tax collectors. We do not hear of any interest and it could not have been hidden in the sum due, since the document served as debt acknowledgement and tax receipt at the

⁴⁰ *P. Oxy.* I 117 (l. 106), 118 (l. 107), 119 (l. 108), 120 (l. 109), 121 (l. 110), 122 (l. 111), 123 (l. 112), 124 (l. 113), 125 (l. 114), 126 (l. 115), 127 (l. 116), 128 (l. 117), 129 (l. 118), 130 (l. 119), 131 (l. 120), 132 (l. 121), 133 (l. 122), 134 (l. 123), 135 (l. 124), 136 (l. 125), 137 (l. 126), 138 (l. 127), 139 (l. 128), 140 (l. 129), 141 (l. 130), 142 (l. 131), 143 (l. 132), 144 (l. 133), 145 (l. 134), 146 (l. 135), 147 (l. 136), 148 (l. 137), 149 (l. 138), 150 (l. 139), 151 (l. 140), 152 (l. 141), 153 (l. 142), 154 (l. 143), 155 (l. 144), 156 (l. 145), 157 (l. 146), 158 (l. 147), 159 (l. 148), 160 (l. 149), 161 (l. 150), 162 (l. 151), 163 (l. 152), 164 (l. 153), 165 (l. 154), 166 (l. 155), 167 (l. 156), 168 (l. 157), 169 (l. 158), 170 (l. 159), 171 (l. 160), 172 (l. 161), 173 (l. 162), 174 (l. 163), 175 (l. 164), 176 (l. 165), 177 (l. 166), 178 (l. 167), 179 (l. 168), 180 (l. 169), 181 (l. 170), 182 (l. 171), 183 (l. 172), 184 (l. 173), 185 (l. 174), 186 (l. 175), 187 (l. 176), 188 (l. 177), 189 (l. 178), 190 (l. 179), 191 (l. 180), 192 (l. 181), 193 (l. 182), 194 (l. 183), 195 (l. 184), 196 (l. 185), 197 (l. 186), 198 (l. 187), 199 (l. 188), 200 (l. 189), 201 (l. 190), 202 (l. 191), 203 (l. 192), 204 (l. 193), 205 (l. 194), 206 (l. 195), 207 (l. 196), 208 (l. 197), 209 (l. 198), 210 (l. 199), 211 (l. 200), 212 (l. 201), 213 (l. 202), 214 (l. 203), 215 (l. 204), 216 (l. 205), 217 (l. 206), 218 (l. 207), 219 (l. 208), 220 (l. 209), 221 (l. 210), 222 (l. 211), 223 (l. 212), 224 (l. 213), 225 (l. 214), 226 (l. 215), 227 (l. 216), 228 (l. 217), 229 (l. 218), 230 (l. 219), 231 (l. 220), 232 (l. 221), 233 (l. 222), 234 (l. 223), 235 (l. 224), 236 (l. 225), 237 (l. 226), 238 (l. 227), 239 (l. 228), 240 (l. 229), 241 (l. 230), 242 (l. 231), 243 (l. 232), 244 (l. 233), 245 (l. 234), 246 (l. 235), 247 (l. 236), 248 (l. 237), 249 (l. 238), 250 (l. 239), 251 (l. 240), 252 (l. 241), 253 (l. 242), 254 (l. 243), 255 (l. 244), 256 (l. 245), 257 (l. 246), 258 (l. 247), 259 (l. 248), 260 (l. 249), 261 (l. 250), 262 (l. 251), 263 (l. 252), 264 (l. 253), 265 (l. 254), 266 (l. 255), 267 (l. 256), 268 (l. 257), 269 (l. 258), 270 (l. 259), 271 (l. 260), 272 (l. 261), 273 (l. 262), 274 (l. 263), 275 (l. 264), 276 (l. 265), 277 (l. 266), 278 (l. 267), 279 (l. 268), 280 (l. 269), 281 (l. 270), 282 (l. 271), 283 (l. 272), 284 (l. 273), 285 (l. 274), 286 (l. 275), 287 (l. 276), 288 (l. 277), 289 (l. 278), 290 (l. 279), 291 (l. 280), 292 (l. 281), 293 (l. 282), 294 (l. 283), 295 (l. 284), 296 (l. 285), 297 (l. 286), 298 (l. 287), 299 (l. 288), 300 (l. 289), 301 (l. 290), 302 (l. 291), 303 (l. 292), 304 (l. 293), 305 (l. 294), 306 (l. 295), 307 (l. 296), 308 (l. 297), 309 (l. 298), 310 (l. 299), 311 (l. 300), 312 (l. 301), 313 (l. 302), 314 (l. 303), 315 (l. 304), 316 (l. 305), 317 (l. 306), 318 (l. 307), 319 (l. 308), 320 (l. 309), 321 (l. 310), 322 (l. 311), 323 (l. 312), 324 (l. 313), 325 (l. 314), 326 (l. 315), 327 (l. 316), 328 (l. 317), 329 (l. 318), 330 (l. 319), 331 (l. 320), 332 (l. 321), 333 (l. 322), 334 (l. 323), 335 (l. 324), 336 (l. 325), 337 (l. 326), 338 (l. 327), 339 (l. 328), 340 (l. 329), 341 (l. 330), 342 (l. 331), 343 (l. 332), 344 (l. 333), 345 (l. 334), 346 (l. 335), 347 (l. 336), 348 (l. 337), 349 (l. 338), 350 (l. 339), 351 (l. 340), 352 (l. 341), 353 (l. 342), 354 (l. 343), 355 (l. 344), 356 (l. 345), 357 (l. 346), 358 (l. 347), 359 (l. 348), 360 (l. 349), 361 (l. 350), 362 (l. 351), 363 (l. 352), 364 (l. 353), 365 (l. 354), 366 (l. 355), 367 (l. 356), 368 (l. 357), 369 (l. 358), 370 (l. 359), 371 (l. 360), 372 (l. 361), 373 (l. 362), 374 (l. 363), 375 (l. 364), 376 (l. 365), 377 (l. 366), 378 (l. 367), 379 (l. 368), 380 (l. 369), 381 (l. 370), 382 (l. 371), 383 (l. 372), 384 (l. 373), 385 (l. 374), 386 (l. 375), 387 (l. 376), 388 (l. 377), 389 (l. 378), 390 (l. 379), 391 (l. 380), 392 (l. 381), 393 (l. 382), 394 (l. 383), 395 (l. 384), 396 (l. 385), 397 (l. 386), 398 (l. 387), 399 (l. 388), 400 (l. 389), 401 (l. 390), 402 (l. 391), 403 (l. 392), 404 (l. 393), 405 (l. 394), 406 (l. 395), 407 (l. 396), 408 (l. 397), 409 (l. 398), 410 (l. 399), 411 (l. 400), 412 (l. 401), 413 (l. 402), 414 (l. 403), 415 (l. 404), 416 (l. 405), 417 (l. 406), 418 (l. 407), 419 (l. 408), 420 (l. 409), 421 (l. 410), 422 (l. 411), 423 (l. 412), 424 (l. 413), 425 (l. 414), 426 (l. 415), 427 (l. 416), 428 (l. 417), 429 (l. 418), 430 (l. 419), 431 (l. 420), 432 (l. 421), 433 (l. 422), 434 (l. 423), 435 (l. 424), 436 (l. 425), 437 (l. 426), 438 (l. 427), 439 (l. 428), 440 (l. 429), 441 (l. 430), 442 (l. 431), 443 (l. 432), 444 (l. 433), 445 (l. 434), 446 (l. 435), 447 (l. 436), 448 (l. 437), 449 (l. 438), 450 (l. 439), 451 (l. 440), 452 (l. 441), 453 (l. 442), 454 (l. 443), 455 (l. 444), 456 (l. 445), 457 (l. 446), 458 (l. 447), 459 (l. 448), 460 (l. 449), 461 (l. 450), 462 (l. 451), 463 (l. 452), 464 (l. 453), 465 (l. 454), 466 (l. 455), 467 (l. 456), 468 (l. 457), 469 (l. 458), 470 (l. 459), 471 (l. 460), 472 (l. 461), 473 (l. 462), 474 (l. 463), 475 (l. 464), 476 (l. 465), 477 (l. 466), 478 (l. 467), 479 (l. 468), 480 (l. 469), 481 (l. 470), 482 (l. 471), 483 (l. 472), 484 (l. 473), 485 (l. 474), 486 (l. 475), 487 (l. 476), 488 (l. 477), 489 (l. 478), 490 (l. 479), 491 (l. 480), 492 (l. 481), 493 (l. 482), 494 (l. 483), 495 (l. 484), 496 (l. 485), 497 (l. 486), 498 (l. 487), 499 (l. 488), 500 (l. 489), 501 (l. 490), 502 (l. 491), 503 (l. 492), 504 (l. 493), 505 (l. 494), 506 (l. 495), 507 (l. 496), 508 (l. 497), 509 (l. 498), 510 (l. 499), 511 (l. 500), 512 (l. 501), 513 (l. 502), 514 (l. 503), 515 (l. 504), 516 (l. 505), 517 (l. 506), 518 (l. 507), 519 (l. 508), 520 (l. 509), 521 (l. 510), 522 (l. 511), 523 (l. 512), 524 (l. 513), 525 (l. 514), 526 (l. 515), 527 (l. 516), 528 (l. 517), 529 (l. 518), 530 (l. 519), 531 (l. 520), 532 (l. 521), 533 (l. 522), 534 (l. 523), 535 (l. 524), 536 (l. 525), 537 (l. 526), 538 (l. 527), 539 (l. 528), 540 (l. 529), 541 (l. 530), 542 (l. 531), 543 (l. 532), 544 (l. 533), 545 (l. 534), 546 (l. 535), 547 (l. 536), 548 (l. 537), 549 (l. 538), 550 (l. 539), 551 (l. 540), 552 (l. 541), 553 (l. 542), 554 (l. 543), 555 (l. 544), 556 (l. 545), 557 (l. 546), 558 (l. 547), 559 (l. 548), 560 (l. 549), 561 (l. 550), 562 (l. 551), 563 (l. 552), 564 (l. 553), 565 (l. 554), 566 (l. 555), 567 (l. 556), 568 (l. 557), 569 (l. 558), 570 (l. 559), 571 (l. 560), 572 (l. 561), 573 (l. 562), 574 (l. 563), 575 (l. 564), 576 (l. 565), 577 (l. 566), 578 (l. 567), 579 (l. 568), 580 (l. 569), 581 (l. 570), 582 (l. 571), 583 (l. 572), 584 (l. 573), 585 (l. 574), 586 (l. 575), 587 (l. 576), 588 (l. 577), 589 (l. 578), 590 (l. 579), 591 (l. 580), 592 (l. 581), 593 (l. 582), 594 (l. 583), 595 (l. 584), 596 (l. 585), 597 (l. 586), 598 (l. 587), 599 (l. 588), 600 (l. 589), 601 (l. 590), 602 (l. 591), 603 (l. 592), 604 (l. 593), 605 (l. 594), 606 (l. 595), 607 (l. 596), 608 (l. 597), 609 (l. 598), 610 (l. 599), 611 (l. 600), 612 (l. 601), 613 (l. 602), 614 (l. 603), 615 (l. 604), 616 (l. 605), 617 (l. 606), 618 (l. 607), 619 (l. 608), 620 (l. 609), 621 (l. 610), 622 (l. 611), 623 (l. 612), 624 (l. 613), 625 (l. 614), 626 (l. 615), 627 (l. 616), 628 (l. 617), 629 (l. 618), 630 (l. 619), 631 (l. 620), 632 (l. 621), 633 (l. 622), 634 (l. 623), 635 (l. 624), 636 (l. 625), 637 (l. 626), 638 (l. 627), 639 (l. 628), 640 (l. 629), 641 (l. 630), 642 (l. 631), 643 (l. 632), 644 (l. 633), 645 (l. 634), 646 (l. 635), 647 (l. 636), 648 (l. 637), 649 (l. 638), 650 (l. 639), 651 (l. 640), 652 (l. 641), 653 (l. 642), 654 (l. 643), 655 (l. 644), 656 (l. 645), 657 (l. 646), 658 (l. 647), 659 (l. 648), 660 (l. 649), 661 (l. 650), 662 (l. 651), 663 (l. 652), 664 (l. 653), 665 (l. 654), 666 (l. 655), 667 (l. 656), 668 (l. 657), 669 (l. 658), 670 (l. 659), 671 (l. 660), 672 (l. 661), 673 (l. 662), 674 (l. 663), 675 (l. 664), 676 (l. 665), 677 (l. 666), 678 (l. 667), 679 (l. 668), 680 (l. 669), 681 (l. 670), 682 (l. 671), 683 (l. 672), 684 (l. 673), 685 (l. 674), 686 (l. 675), 687 (l. 676), 688 (l. 677), 689 (l. 678), 690 (l. 679), 691 (l. 680), 692 (l. 681), 693 (l. 682), 694 (l. 683), 695 (l. 684), 696 (l. 685), 697 (l. 686), 698 (l. 687), 699 (l. 688), 700 (l. 689), 701 (l. 690), 702 (l. 691), 703 (l. 692), 704 (l. 693), 705 (l. 694), 706 (l. 695), 707 (l. 696), 708 (l. 697), 709 (l. 698), 710 (l. 699), 711 (l. 700), 712 (l. 701), 713 (l. 702), 714 (l. 703), 715 (l. 704), 716 (l. 705), 717 (l. 706), 718 (l. 707), 719 (l. 708), 720 (l. 709), 721 (l. 710), 722 (l. 711), 723 (l. 712), 724 (l. 713), 725 (l. 714), 726 (l. 715), 727 (l. 716), 728 (l. 717), 729 (l. 718), 730 (l. 719), 731 (l. 720), 732 (l. 721), 733 (l. 722), 734 (l. 723), 735 (l. 724), 736 (l. 725), 737 (l. 726), 738 (l. 727), 739 (l. 728), 740 (l. 729), 741 (l. 730), 742 (l. 731), 743 (l. 732), 744 (l. 733), 745 (l. 734), 746 (l. 735), 747 (l. 736), 748 (l. 737), 749 (l. 738), 750 (l. 739), 751 (l. 740), 752 (l. 741), 753 (l. 742), 754 (l. 743), 755 (l. 744), 756 (l. 745), 757 (l. 746), 758 (l. 747), 759 (l. 748), 760 (l. 749), 761 (l. 750), 762 (l. 751), 763 (l. 752), 764 (l. 753), 765 (l. 754), 766 (l. 755), 767 (l. 756), 768 (l. 757), 769 (l. 758), 770 (l. 759), 771 (l. 760), 772 (l. 761), 773 (l. 762), 774 (l. 763), 775 (l. 764), 776 (l. 765), 777 (l. 766), 778 (l. 767), 779 (l. 768), 780 (l. 769), 781 (l. 770), 782 (l. 771), 783 (l. 772), 784 (l. 773), 785 (l. 774), 786 (l. 775), 787 (l. 776), 788 (l. 777), 789 (l. 778), 790 (l. 779), 791 (l. 780), 792 (l. 781), 793 (l. 782), 794 (l. 783), 795 (l. 784), 796 (l. 785), 797 (l. 786), 798 (l. 787), 799 (l. 788), 800 (l. 789), 801 (l. 790), 802 (l. 791), 803 (l. 792), 804 (l. 793), 805 (l. 794), 806 (l. 795), 807 (l. 796), 808 (l. 797), 809 (l. 798), 810 (l. 799), 811 (l. 800), 812 (l. 801), 813 (l. 802), 814 (l. 803), 815 (l. 804), 816 (l. 805), 817 (l. 806), 818 (l. 807), 819 (l. 808), 820 (l. 809), 821 (l. 810), 822 (l. 811), 823 (l. 812), 824 (l. 813), 825 (l. 814), 826 (l. 815), 827 (l. 816), 828 (l. 817), 829 (l. 818), 830 (l. 819), 831 (l. 820), 832 (l. 821), 833 (l. 822), 834 (l. 823), 835 (l. 824), 836 (l. 825), 837 (l. 826), 838 (l. 827), 839 (l. 828), 840 (l. 829), 841 (l. 830), 842 (l. 831), 843 (l. 832), 844 (l. 833), 845 (l. 834), 846 (l. 835), 847 (l. 836), 848 (l. 837), 849 (l. 838), 850 (l. 839), 851 (l. 840), 852 (l. 841), 853 (l. 842), 854 (l. 843), 855 (l. 844), 856 (l. 845), 857 (l. 846), 858 (l. 847), 859 (l. 848), 860 (l. 849), 861 (l. 850), 862 (l. 851), 863 (l. 852), 864 (l. 853), 865 (l. 854), 866 (l. 855), 867 (l. 856), 868 (l. 857), 869 (l. 858), 870 (l. 859), 871 (l. 860), 872 (l. 861), 873 (l. 862), 874 (l. 863), 875 (l. 864), 876 (l. 865), 877 (l. 866), 878 (l. 867), 879 (l. 868), 880 (l. 869), 881 (l. 870), 882 (l. 871), 883 (l. 872), 884 (l. 873), 885 (l. 874), 886 (l. 875), 887 (l. 876), 888 (l. 877), 889 (l. 878), 890 (l. 879), 891 (l. 880), 892 (l. 881), 893 (l. 882), 894 (l. 883), 895 (l. 884), 896 (l. 885), 897 (l. 886), 898 (l. 887), 899 (l. 888), 900 (l. 889), 901 (l. 890), 902 (l. 891), 903 (l. 892), 904 (l. 893), 905 (l. 894), 906 (l. 895), 907 (l. 896), 908 (l. 897), 909 (l. 898), 910 (l. 899), 911 (l. 900), 912 (l. 901), 913 (l. 902), 914 (l. 903), 915 (l. 904), 916 (l. 905), 917 (l. 906), 918 (l. 907), 919 (l. 908), 920 (l. 909), 921 (l. 910), 922 (l. 911), 923 (l. 912), 924 (l. 913), 925 (l. 914), 926 (l. 915), 927 (l. 916), 928 (l. 917), 929 (l. 918), 930 (l. 919), 931 (l. 920), 932 (l. 921), 933 (l. 922), 934 (l. 923), 935 (l. 924), 936 (l. 925), 937 (l. 926), 938 (l. 927), 939 (l. 928), 940 (l. 929), 941 (l. 930), 942 (l. 931), 943 (l. 932), 944 (l. 933), 945 (l. 934), 946 (l. 935), 947 (l. 936), 948 (l. 937), 949 (l. 938), 950 (l. 939), 951 (l. 940), 952 (l. 941), 953 (l. 942), 954 (l. 943), 955 (l. 944), 956 (l. 945), 957 (l. 946), 958 (l. 947), 959 (l. 948), 960 (l. 949), 961 (l. 950), 962 (l. 951), 963 (l. 952), 964 (l. 953), 965 (l. 954), 966 (l. 955), 967 (l. 956), 968 (l. 957), 969 (l. 958), 970 (l. 959), 971 (l. 960), 972 (l. 961), 973 (l. 962), 974 (l. 963), 975 (l. 964), 976 (l. 965), 977 (l. 966), 978 (l. 967), 979 (l. 968), 980 (l. 969), 981 (l. 970), 982 (l. 971), 983 (l. 972), 984 (l. 973), 985 (l. 974), 986 (l. 975), 987 (l. 976), 988 (l. 977), 989 (l. 978), 990 (l. 979), 991 (l. 980), 992 (l. 981), 993 (l. 982), 994 (l. 983), 995 (l. 984), 996 (l. 985), 997 (l. 986), 998 (l. 987), 999 (l. 988), 1000 (l. 989).

⁴¹ But see also the debt involving 250 *Soloi* of *Agapion* in a transaction between a *p. n. n.* *episcopos* and an ordinary farmer *Prk.* III 21 (l. 30).

⁴² *Simplicius* 1500.

⁴³ *P. Alex.* 10 *solidi* of *episcopos* *q. n. n.* *episcopos* is a significant indication. It is unknown who was the creditor in *P. Alex.* III 18 from the same archive.

⁴⁴ *P. Alex.* III 14 (l. 3) would appear that part of the transaction was carried out by messengers, i.e. that Patrick sent the silver for a debt to his 'messengers' to the borrower Stephanos, who sent back the money receipt of which is largely acknowledged.

same time. A similar situation is recorded in *P.Voss* III 39 (C34), in which George advances 6 (?) *solidi* for the payment of the land tax of another Sergius (it cannot be definitely stated whether this is the same person as in *P.Voss* III 55). It seems that the Abbot George, himself a large landowner and a wealthy man,⁴ was helping other landowners (or at least ones who found themselves short of cash). We cannot be sure if this was selfless help – his father Patrick did lend money at interest at least once even though as a *probyter* or he was forbidden to do that by Canon law.

This brings us to the question of the clergy practicing usury. If the Church ban of lending money at interest had been effective, all loans issued by clerics could be regarded as interest-free (in the case of unordained monks lending at interest would have been "merely" a moral transgression, but still a serious one in view of the Church's radical opinion on usury). But – as we all know – the more often a legal norm was repeated by the lawmakers, the less effective it must have been. We have seen one example of this among the Nessim papyri; the evidence from Egypt also confirms this occasionally.

In the Coptic ostrakon *Ostr. num* 29 we see three newly ordained (or about to be ordained) deacons commit themselves in the face of bishop Apa Abraham of Hermopolis:

Since we have requested your piety that you would ordain us deacons, we are ready to observe the commandments and canons and to obey those above us and be obedient to the superiors and to watch out both on the days of communion and to master the Gospel according to John and to learn it by heart by the end of the Pentecost and if we do not so but keep it by us and recite it, we shall not have ordination. And we will not trade nor take usury (or interest) – 'take interest' (not will we go abroad without taking slaves).

Other such undertakings by would be deacons or priests are known (e.g. *Ostr. num* 30-35), but only the one quoted above explicitly mentions trading and money lending as forbidden to the clerics, perhaps because it was self-evident that such bans belonged to the set of rules *canonical* (*kanonika*) binding members of the clergy. Nonetheless, *Ostr. num* 29 gives evidence for the bishop Abraham taking extra precaution that his men do not practice trades or take interest.

Another text, *P.Mut.Epiph* 157, reports how someone went to the town of Djeme and found someone 'taking interest'. Unfortunately the text is very fragmentary, but the context suggests that the author – probably a bishop – enumerates the transgressions made by local clergy.⁵ Even if not entirely certain, we have here a proof that despite all bans and prohibitions, clergymen were tempted to increase their wealth by means of lending at interest, and that it was the bishop's duty to check on them.

Scarce as it is, there is also some direct evidence that clergymen and monasteries did practice usury. Beside *P.Voss* III 46 ff. 29, we find mentions of interest in: *P.Oxy* 10 (C25); *CPR* IV 72 (C35) and *P.Ryl.Copt* 192 ff. 301, possibly also *P.Mut* XIII 660 (C56). In *P.Abb* III 151 (C21) the sum of 2 *solidi* borrowed from a monk is said to start bringing yearly punitive interest (480 *denarii* per *solidus*) if the debt is not repaid on the agreed date.

⁴ In *P.Voss* III 38 he pays a rather large tax – 17 – for a land that had been assigned to him by the Statepaganon, it seems likely that this was one of the only lands he possessed.

⁵ He also complains that they were using a *heptemeta* zone which had not been consecrated by him. Consecrating a baptistery font would have been probably a bishop's duty.

We have seen how an Oxyrhynchite landowner borrowed money from an agent of an Egyptian monastery in Constantinople (*P Oxy. LXXII 4347*, A3, discussed above). Another interesting example of Egyptian churchmen contracting a loan in the imperial capital, this time in their own name, can be found in the papers of the well-known Dioscorus of Aphroditis (*P Oxy. XI 6712n*, D57). In the early 540s Apollonios of Aphroditis, the father of Dioscorus undertook a journey to Constantinople in the company of his nephew Victor, son of Hecation. At that time Apollonios might have already been a monk (cf. *P Oxy. VII 933v*) and Victor is styled as *procurator* (*P Oxy. XI 6712n*, B 1 and 43). On 7th of January 541 they borrowed a not insubstantial sum of 20 *solidi* from a Constantinopolitan banker (*argyroproletos*) Flavius Anastasius. The loan was to be repaid four months later in Alexandria, where the bank apparently had another branch. The interest was set at two-thirds of the legal maximum (*rhombos tokos*) – most probably 8%, which the bankers were allowed to charge under Justinian's legislation of 432–261 and 506–41.¹ We can only speculate as to the purpose of Apollonios and Victor's journey to Constantinople, but apparently they found themselves short of cash (or bibles?) for personal expenditures², and borrowed money, which they hoped to be able to repay back in Egypt.³

Not all debts result from loans and we have to be aware that some contracts appearing to be loans may have concealed different types of transactions. *P Oxy. XI 67128* (D58), 67129 (D59) and possibly also 67130 (D61) have priestly featuring a debtors' agreements being, despite some external features of debt acknowledgements, "actually land leases".

5.1. MONKS, CREDITORS AND THE MONASTICUS

Monks involved in lending and borrowing are best attested among the papers associated with the Heliopolite monastery of Apa Apollo. There are 21 known Coptic and Greek loan agreements that can be safely connected with this monastery and several more doubtful ones.⁴ The texts date from the 5th to the 8th century, we have among them 17 loans of money and 9 loans of commodities (in several cases the object of debt remains unknown). In the second category, only one text *Ap. XI 1226v* (d.78) records a true loan from the legal point of view (loan of wine). This contract is probably a sale with deferred

¹ See Kroll 1984 and Markese 1997 and 1998. For whether Apollonios was really a monk who still occupying the post of *procurator* is questioned by Lendrop of *Wageningen* 2002: 22.

² The traditional view on the interest on these papers was 6% (see e.g. 1914: 83).

³ Keenan 1999: 200–201.

⁴ The phrase *monachos* or *monasterion* and the phrase *monasterion* occur in *Ap. XI 67128*–131, 13, *P Oxy. XI 67129*, 14 and appear in debt acknowledgements resulting from various transactions (cf. Kallhoff 1969: 146).

⁵ Unless because the study of preservation gives doubts as to the nature of the agreement or we are not sure if at least one of the parties was a monk. The latter is often the case, especially in cases of credit agreements, that is, parties would have been mentioned at the beginning of a document as *monasterion*. It is often argued, even to the extent that if a document can be safely connected with a monastery, it is automatically a *monasterion* document. If that is applied to these agreements can be found in Delage 2001. Among the documents listed there, *P Oxy. L 116v*, 2, 17 and *P Oxy. L 118* can be attributed to the Heliopolite monastery, provided an A. Markese's view of *Ap. XI 1226v* is accepted to link the this information and for providing any useful information, *procurator* of *Ap. XI 1226v* I have decided to include *P Oxy. XI 469*, although there are some reasons to believe that it might have been another loan agreement from Heliopolis, see Markese 2002.

payment (*P. Mon. Ipatris* 44 (1983), an unknown amount of wine to be paid with more than 1 *solidus*. The rest are sales with deferred delivery (the price is paid in advance) (6 cases.²¹) The sums appearing in money loans vary between 15 *solidi* and nearly 6 *solidi* of gold, perhaps some 2 *solidi* on the average – if we can speak of any ‘statistics’ in case of such a meagre sample. This would have been a rather substantial sum of money from an ordinary person’s point of view: two *solidi* could represent a worker’s yearly wages in 6th-century *P. Libr.* 1471, but not great wealth either.

In almost all cases in which it can be determined, the creditors were individual monks disposing most probably of their personal wealth. In two cases, *P. Amr.* 147 (175) and 48 (176), money is lent by the abbots, but they seem to be acting on their own behalf. Only one loan (*P. Mon. Ipatris* 38 (196)) is said to be given by the monastery as an institution, the abbot of the monastery represented by its head, Apa Theodoros. Lending and borrowing in Apa Apollon seems to have been principally a private affair.

Among debtors we also find monks who seem to have had the liberty of conducting all sorts of transactions with their fellow brothers (6 cases in the dossier of the Apa Apollon monastery). However, most of the debtors seem to have been people from the neighbouring villages. Their social status is rarely known. In *SP* XI 1226²² (*P. Neph.* 15) the debtor is a *prothomachos* of Semihryphos, but many seem to have been people of some means at least, inspiring hope that they would repay their debts.

A good example of a bad debt incurred by a monk is known from the Nephthos archive.²³ In seven out of nine letters sent to Nephthos by Paulus (*P. Neph.* 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8), a trader and possibly the agent of Nephthos’ monastery in Alexandria, we find repeated mentions of a debt of 10 *artabai* of wheat owed to Paulus by a certain Papputhos, son of Horien, a monk of the same monastery. The debt resulted from an interest-bearing loan: if we are to believe Paulus (*P. Neph.* 7, 488), Nephthos, who is a *prothomachos* and clearly a personage of high rank within the monastery (perhaps even the *protopos*), is expected to exert pressure on the stubborn debtor and recover the wheat, then have it sent in the form of bread to Paulus in Alexandria. He fails to do so for reasons that escape us, for we do not have Nephthos’ letters to Paulus. Presumably Papputhos simply denied his debt in front of Nephthos, a filthy lie unworthy of a monk in Paulus’ eyes (*P. Neph.* 7, 5). The unfortunate creditor then suggests Papputhos he made to swear an oath and become excluded from the participation in the Holy Mass if he commits perjury, i.e. denies his debt again (*P. Neph.* 8, 503).

As we can see, Paulus does not resort to civil procedure to recover the loan,²⁴ instead he hopes to succeed through the authority of Nephthos, Papputhos’ superior within the monastery. He expects Nephthos to persuade his opponent, ordering him to pay up or even imposing an ecclesiastical sanction against him.²⁵ He does not, however, expect the debt to be paid off by Nephthos as the *protopos*. Clearly Papputhos conducts his business affairs in his own name and the monastic community is not responsible for them.

In sum, credit seems to have played some role both in the economic activities of church institutions and in the private dealings of clergy and monks. The economic importance of this is difficult to estimate, for the available material is unfortunately not too abundant. Churches and monasteries can be

²¹ *P. Neph.* 15 and 16 (10).

²² The debtors do not even threaten going to court, even though it would have been perfectly possible, since the *epitaphios kanonikos* was introduced for cases of serious crimes only in 431 (Schafer, 59).

²³ *P. Neph.* 50, 51.

seen taking loans, especially when cash for payment of taxes was needed, but at times these institutions would also appear as creditors, investing surplus funds for profit or advancing payments for future services or deliveries. With one exception the sums appearing in such transactions are modest and the documents show us that money-lending was limited in scale and conducted only locally – in the absence of any “banking” facilities – monasteries had to borrow small sums of money from many individuals.

As far as the papyri can give us insight into the private affairs of the clergy, they convey a similar picture. Priests and monks appearing in our documents seem to belong to the provincial “middle class”: they conduct their rather modest affairs with their peers, not infrequently with other monks or clerics. Contrary to Remondou’s impression, there does not seem to be a particular concentration of wealth in their hands, or at least debt acknowledgements are not a proof for that. There is a noticeable prevalence of ecclesiastical creditors over debtors, but the data sample is too meager to draw far-fetched conclusions.

We cannot answer with too much certainty the interesting question, whether the credit offered by members of clergy was really interest-free in keeping with the Canon law. The documents rarely mention interest, but this is not decisive – they seldom do so in general, even if the creditor is not an ordained priest. A certain number of loans may have been indeed interest-free, but the ultimate purpose of all this lending and borrowing, leasing and trading, was profit, not charity. The poorer clergymen had to earn their living and the wealthier (like the Abbot Patrick of Neussana) had nothing against increasing their wealth.

What is interesting to observe is that a monastery like the monastery of Apa Apollon at Hawa could – through economic activities of its monks – play an active role in the system of agricultural credit, providing the local farmers with working capital, not unlike the provincial *metropoles* did for their hinterland.¹⁰ In that sense Sarah Jackson was right in stating that monasteries provided “banking” facilities for lay people. But I doubt whether the credit offered there was really interest-free.

6. 1. TABLES

Note: The following tables contain all the texts known to me which record, or allude to, debts owed to, or by, clergymen, monks or church institutions. In compiling them I used the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyri aus Ägypten* (GAE) and the *Heidelberger Ägyptische Papyri-Datenbank* (HAPD).

The asterisk (*) indicates “doubtful” texts: the state of preservation leaves some doubts either to the nature of the transaction or to the status of the parties (in other words we are not quite sure whether the papyrus in question does indeed record a loan or and whether at least one of the parties was a either a monk or a clergyman).

Some dates could be only tentatively assigned to texts by their editors on the criterion of palaeography and are therefore subject to challenge; this goes especially for Coptic agreements.

¹⁰ On this system see Farañassoglou and Unger (1982), Bagnall (1993, 173–8).

A. CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS AND RITUALS

| No. | Feast | Date and
Proclamation | Activities | Deities | Object or Goal |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| 1 | Pokroch III (51)
(Orzech) | 8 th or 12 th
Augustus | the 21 st anniversary of
Mieszko's baptism;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Krzysztof's feast;
the 1 st of the month | Arcturys, Procyon, a
Comet | and reinforcement of
a relationship
between pagan and
Christian |
| 2 | Pokroch, XV (256)
(Orzech) | 8 th or 12 th
October/1 st | the 21 st anniversary of
Arcturys's baptism;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię | Arcturys, Aphrodite,
a comet, a star
Arcturys, a baker's
and a 1 st of the
month of October | 12 th of October as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |
| 3 | Pokroch, XVI (267)
(Orzech) | 1 st or 12 th
October/1 st | the 21 st anniversary of
Arcturys's baptism;
Orysi's feast;
Orysi's feast;
Orysi's feast;
Orysi's feast;
Orysi's feast | Demeter, a star
Arcturys, a comet,
a baker's | Arcturys as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |
| 4 | Pokroch, XVII (274)
(Orzech) | 8 th or 12 th
Augustus | the 21 st anniversary of
Arcturys's baptism;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast | Arcturys, Procyon,
a comet, a star | Arcturys as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |
| 5 | Arcturys (281)
(Orzech) | 1 st or 12 th
October | Arcturys's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast | Procyon, a star
Arcturys, a comet,
a baker's | Arcturys as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |
| 6 | Arcturys (281)
(Orzech) | 1 st or 12 th
October | Arcturys's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast | Procyon, a star
Arcturys, a comet,
a baker's | Arcturys as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |
| 7 | Arcturys (281)
(Orzech) | 1 st or 12 th
October | Arcturys's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast | Procyon, a star
Arcturys, a comet,
a baker's | Arcturys as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |
| 8 | Pokroch II (10)
(Orzech) | 8 th or 12 th
October | the 21 st anniversary of
Arcturys's baptism;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast;
Sąwodzię's feast | Arcturys, Aphrodite,
a comet, a star | Arcturys as a feast
for operation of the
milling bakery in
the monastery |

[illegible]

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------|--|
| 51 | BAU III 422
Kopier | date unknown
Hermopolis | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
422 | SN | unknown
scale on delivery |
| 52 | BAU III 424
Kopier | date unknown
Hermopolis | Apollonius and
SN | Kopier and SN | unknown (scale?) |
| 53 | BAU III 425
Kopier | date unknown
Theban Delta | Apollonius and
SN | Kopier and SN | to be repaid with a great
scale on delivery |
| 54 | BAU III 426
Kopier | date unknown
Hermopolis | Ptolemy and
SN | Apollonius | to be repaid with
the scale |

DELIVERIES AND MOSKOS VS. PRIVATE DELIVERIES

| No. | Text | Delivered
private debt | Received | Delivered | Object of debt |
|-----|-----------------------|---------------------------|--|--|---|
| 45 | BAU III 422
Kopier | BAU III 422
Hermopolis | Apollonius and
Ptolemy | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
422 | to be repaid with
a great scale on
delivery |
| 56 | BAU III 424
Kopier | BAU III 424
Apollonius | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
424 | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
424 | to be repaid with
a great scale on
delivery |
| 57 | BAU III 425
Kopier | BAU III 425
Hermopolis | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
425 | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
425 | to be repaid with
a great scale on
delivery |
| 58 | BAU III 426
Kopier | BAU III 426
Apollonius | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
426 | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
426 | to be repaid with
a great scale on
delivery |
| 59 | BAU III 427
Kopier | BAU III 427
Apollonius | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
427 | Apollonius and
Ptolemy in the
middle of BKE III
427 | to be repaid with
a great scale on
delivery |

$$| \mathbf{r}_k(t_k) - \mathbf{r}_k^* | + \delta_k = \delta_k^*$$
[illegible]

See also 1761N, 1761P, 1761Q, 1761R, 1761S, 1761T, 1761U, 1761V, 1761W, 1761X, 1761Y, 1761Z, 1762A, 1762B, 1762C, 1762D, 1762E, 1762F, 1762G, 1762H, 1762I, 1762J, 1762K, 1762L, 1762M, 1762N, 1762O, 1762P, 1762Q, 1762R, 1762S, 1762T, 1762U, 1762V, 1762W, 1762X, 1762Y, 1762Z, 1763A, 1763B, 1763C, 1763D, 1763E, 1763F, 1763G, 1763H, 1763I, 1763J, 1763K, 1763L, 1763M, 1763N, 1763O, 1763P, 1763Q, 1763R, 1763S, 1763T, 1763U, 1763V, 1763W, 1763X, 1763Y, 1763Z, 1764A, 1764B, 1764C, 1764D, 1764E, 1764F, 1764G, 1764H, 1764I, 1764J, 1764K, 1764L, 1764M, 1764N, 1764O, 1764P, 1764Q, 1764R, 1764S, 1764T, 1764U, 1764V, 1764W, 1764X, 1764Y, 1764Z, 1765A, 1765B, 1765C, 1765D, 1765E, 1765F, 1765G, 1765H, 1765I, 1765J, 1765K, 1765L, 1765M, 1765N, 1765O, 1765P, 1765Q, 1765R, 1765S, 1765T, 1765U, 1765V, 1765W, 1765X, 1765Y, 1765Z, 1766A, 1766B, 1766C, 1766D, 1766E, 1766F, 1766G, 1766H, 1766I, 1766J, 1766K, 1766L, 1766M, 1766N, 1766O, 1766P, 1766Q, 1766R, 1766S, 1766T, 1766U, 1766V, 1766W, 1766X, 1766Y, 1766Z, 1767A, 1767B, 1767C, 1767D, 1767E, 1767F, 1767G, 1767H, 1767I, 1767J, 1767K, 1767L, 1767M, 1767N, 1767O, 1767P, 1767Q, 1767R, 1767S, 1767T, 1767U, 1767V, 1767W, 1767X, 1767Y, 1767Z, 1768A, 1768B, 1768C, 1768D, 1768E, 1768F, 1768G, 1768H, 1768I, 1768J, 1768K, 1768L, 1768M, 1768N, 1768O, 1768P, 1768Q, 1768R, 1768S, 1768T, 1768U, 1768V, 1768W, 1768X, 1768Y, 1768Z, 1769A, 1769B, 1769C, 1769D, 1769E, 1769F, 1769G, 1769H, 1769I, 1769J, 1769K, 1769L, 1769M, 1769N, 1769O, 1769P, 1769Q, 1769R, 1769S, 1769T, 1769U, 1769V, 1769W, 1769X, 1769Y, 1769Z, 1770A, 1770B, 1770C, 1770D, 1770E, 1770F, 1770G, 1770H, 1770I, 1770J, 1770K, 1770L, 1770M, 1770N, 1770O, 1770P, 1770Q, 1770R, 1770S, 1770T, 1770U, 1770V, 1770W, 1770X, 1770Y, 1770Z, 1771A, 1771B, 1771C, 1771D, 1771E, 1771F, 1771G, 1771H, 1771I, 1771J, 1771K, 1771L, 1771M, 1771N, 1771O, 1771P, 1771Q, 1771R, 1771S, 1771T, 1771U, 1771V, 1771W, 1771X, 1771Y, 1771Z, 1772A, 1772B, 1772C, 1772D, 1772E, 1772F, 1772G, 1772H, 1772I, 1772J, 1772K, 1772L, 1772M, 1772N, 1772O, 1772P, 1772Q, 1772R, 1772S, 1772T, 1772U, 1772V, 1772W, 1772X, 1772Y, 1772Z, 1773A, 1773B, 1773C, 1773D, 1773E, 1773F, 1773G, 1773H, 1773I, 1773J, 1773K, 1773L, 1773M, 1773N, 1773O, 1773P, 1773Q, 1773R, 1773S, 1773T, 1773U, 1773V, 1773W, 1773X, 1773Y, 1773Z, 1774A, 1774B, 1774C, 1774D, 1774E, 1774F, 1774G, 1774H, 1774I, 1774J, 1774K, 1774L, 1774M, 1774N, 1774O, 1774P, 1774Q, 1774R, 1774S, 1774T, 1774U, 1774V, 1774W, 1774X, 1774Y, 1774Z, 1775A, 1775B, 1775C, 1775D, 1775E, 1775F, 1775G, 1775H, 1775I, 1775J, 1775K, 1775L, 1775M, 1775N, 1775O, 1775P, 1775Q, 1775R, 1775S, 1775T, 1775U, 1775V, 1775W, 1775X, 1775Y, 1775Z, 1776A, 1776B, 1776C, 1776D, 1776E, 1776F, 1776G, 1776H, 1776I, 1776J, 1776K, 1776L, 1776M, 1776N, 1776O, 1776P, 1776Q, 1776R, 1776S, 1776T, 1776U, 1776V, 1776W, 1776X, 1776Y, 1776Z, 1777A, 1777B, 1777C, 1777D, 1777E, 1777F, 1777G, 1777H, 1777I, 1777J, 1777K, 1777L, 1777M, 1777N, 1777O, 1777P, 1777Q, 1777R, 1777S, 1777T, 1777U, 1777V, 1777W, 1777X, 1777Y, 1777Z, 1778A, 1778B, 1778C, 1778D, 1778E, 1778F, 1778G, 1778H, 1778I, 1778J, 1778K, 1778L, 1778M, 1778N, 1778O, 1778P, 1778Q, 1778R, 1778S, 1778T, 1778U, 1778V, 1778W, 1778X, 1778Y, 1778Z, 1779A, 1779B, 1779C, 1779D, 1779E, 1779F, 1779G, 1779H, 1779I, 1779J, 1779K, 1779L, 1779M, 1779N, 1779O, 1779P, 1779Q, 1779R, 1779S, 1779T, 1779U, 1779V, 1779W, 1779X, 1779Y, 1779Z, 1780A, 1780B, 1780C, 1780D, 1780E, 1780F, 1780G, 1780H, 1780I, 1780J, 1780K, 1780L, 1780M, 1780N, 1780O, 1780P, 1780Q, 1780R, 1780S, 1780T, 1780U, 1780V, 1780W, 1780X, 1780Y, 1780Z, 1781A, 1781B, 1781C, 1781D, 1781E, 1781F, 1781G, 1781H, 1781I, 1781J, 1781K, 1781L, 1781M, 1781N, 1781O, 1781P, 1781Q, 1781R, 1781S, 1781T, 1781U, 1781V, 1781W, 1781X, 1781Y, 1781Z, 1782A, 1782B, 1782C, 1782D, 1782E, 1782F, 1782G, 1782H, 1782I, 1782J, 1782K, 1782L, 1782M, 1782N, 1782O, 1782P, 1782Q, 1782R, 1782S, 1782T, 1782U, 1782V, 1782W, 1782X, 1782Y, 1782Z, 1783A, 1783B, 1783C, 1783D, 1783E, 1783F, 1783G, 1783H, 1783I, 1783J, 1783K, 1783L, 1783M, 1783N, 1783O, 1783P, 1783Q, 1783R, 1783S, 1783T, 1783U, 1783V, 1783W, 1783X, 1783Y, 1783Z, 178

II. LENDING AND BORROWING WITHIN MONASTERIES

Note: These texts could be, in theory, distributed among Types A, B, C, and D, according to whether they feature particular monks or monasteries as creditors or debtors. However, since they can be connected to several better-known monasteries, they are better studied together as groups and not separately. I assume that in texts with established monastic provenance at least one of the parties was a monk, even if a particular document does not mention this (any more).

All monks come from the monastery named in the respective heading, unless stated otherwise.

| No. | Text | Date (approx.) | Creditor | Debtor | Object of debt |
|---|---|---------------------------|---|--|--|
| <i>Hermopolite monastery of Hattou</i> | | | | | |
| | P. Nap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
7, 8
(Coptic) | mid 4 th cent. | Hermopolite monastery
of Hattou
Amenemhat | Papathous monk | Debt of oil (oil of
olive) |
| <i>Hermopolite monastery of Apse Apollu</i> | | | | | |
| 75 | P. Louv. 1621A
(Greek) | 1111-1188 | Apollonius | Antoine Victor | 6 solidi less 12
denarii |
| 76 | MS. N. B. 133/2
(Greek) | 1112-1118 | Antoine, SN 2
canon of several
monks | Antoine Amphion
canon of Memphis
Apollonius
Hermopolite | money 1/3 |
| 77 | P. Louv. 162
(Greek) | 1111-1117 | Nectarios
monks of the
monastery | Antoine de Berta
canon of the
Hermopolite | unknown amount of
money to be repaid
with new wine, early
on delivery |
| 78 | P. Louv. 148
(Greek) | 1111-1120 | Nectarios
canon of several
monks of the
monastery of Apse
Apollu | SN 1 canon from
the Hermopolite | unknown amount of
money to be repaid
with 400 lb of oil
worth 1 lb of
silver |
| 79 | P. Louv. 1621B
(Greek) | 1111-1119 | Apse Amphion, a
monk | Antoine Mathias
canon of Memphis
Antoine | 6 solidi |
| 80 | MS. N. B. 1226
(Greek) | 1111-1140 | Antoine Apollonius
monk | Antoine SN
canon of the
monastery of the
Hermopolite | Unknown amount of
money to be repaid
with 100 lb of
silver |
| 81 | P. Louv. 1621C
(Greek) | 1111-1113 | Apse Amphion, a monk
apollonius
monks of the
monastery of Apse
Apollu | Antoine
Pharmaceutron
Dionysius of the
Hermopolite | 7 solidi less 42
denarii |

| | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 80 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Amphibius
Phoenicophorus | Unknown level
related to be repaid
unknown the the 1200
the 1200 of delivery |
| 81 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown amount of
money to be repaid
with 1200 of delivery |
| 82 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 83 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 84 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 85 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 86 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 87 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 88 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 89 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 90 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 91 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 92 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |
| 93 | *P. Hm. 12, 13, 17
Hm. 12 | *100%
Hm. 12 | *NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | NN, 100%
Hm. 12 | Unknown level
related to be repaid |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| 93 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS and SS (1000)
SS (1000) and SS (1000)
from the monastery
of Apta Mon. Ispolia 18 | monastery of Apta
Mon. Ispolia 18 | SS (1000) and 1
monastery of Apta
Mon. Ispolia 18
repaid at the harvest
time |
| 94 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | at Apta
Mon. Ispolia 18
worth
1000 |
| 95 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | 1000 |
| 96 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 97 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 98 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 99 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 100 | <i>P. Mon. Ispolia 18</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |

Apolloniospolis monasteria of Apta (Apta Mon. Ispolia 18)

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| 101 | <i>P. Mon. 101</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 102 | <i>P. Mon. 102</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 103 | <i>P. Mon. 103</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 104 | <i>P. Mon. 104</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |
| 105 | <i>P. Mon. 105</i>
of aptra | 1800/1000 | SS (1000) | SS (1000) | unknown |

REFERENCES

- Bacot, S. (2002). "Une nouvelle attestation de 'la pierre d' Apa Mena - ou sud d' Assout,' *BIF* 160, 102, 1-18.
- Bagnall, R. (1977). "Price in 'Sales on Delivery,'" *GRBS* 18 (1977), 85-96; R. Bagnall, *Later Roman Egypt: Society, Religion, Economy and Administration*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, XV.
- Bagnall, R. (1993). *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bianchi, U. (1983a). "In tema d'usura: Canoni conciliari e legislazione imperiale del IV secolo. I," *Ateneion* 61, 321-342.
- Bianchi, U. (1983b). "In tema d'usura: Canoni conciliari e legislazione imperiale del IV secolo. II," *Ateneion* 62, 136-153.
- Claekson, S. (2008). *It is the Father Who Writes: Letters from the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit* (*American Studies in Papyrology*, 43), Oxford: Oxford, 2008.
- Delattre, A. (2004). "Un contrat de pécupiole du monastère de Baout," *CEH* 79, 385-390.
- Derdü, T. and Wipszycka, E. (1994). "L'emploi des titres *abba*, *aga* et *papa* dans l'Égypte byzantine," *JHP* 24, 21-86.
- Foraboschi, D. and Gatti, A. (1982). "L'economia del credito in natura d'ipote," *Ateneion* 60, 60-81.
- Goffas, D. (2002). "Byzantine Law of Interest in Egypt," A. (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*, Hambledon Press, vol. 3, 1095-1100.
- Hagenmann, H.-R. (1986). "Die rechtliche Stellung der christlichen Wohltätigkeitsanstalten in der oströmischen Reichshälfte," *BIF* 13, 265-283.
- Jakob, J. (1990). "Guarantee and Sale in Sales of Wine on Delivery," *JHP* 20, 33-44.
- Keenan, J. A. (1984). "Aurelius Apollon and the Aphroditic Village Life," *Atti del VII Congresso internazionale di Papirologia III*, Napoli: Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri egizi, 1957-1963.
- Kramer, B., Shelton, J. L. and Browne, G. M. (1987). *Das Archiv des Nephron und verwandte Texte*, *Münz u. Rhein*, 24-25 and 29-30.
- Kühnert, H. (1965). *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den byzantinischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian*, PhD thesis Freiburg.
- Macquill, L. S. B. (1988). *Discovering the Past: The World and How We Know It*, Berkeley Los Angeles London: University of California Press.
- Macquill, L. S. B. (1993). "The Apa Apollon Monastery of Pharon (Aphroditon) and its Papyrus Archive," *Le Monast* 106, 21-63.
- Markiewicz, J. (2002). "P. Duke 505. 462: A Papyrus Illustrating *societatem corporalem* praesentation in Coptic Egypt," in: Derdü, T., Chabrik, I. and Węcowski, M. (eds.), *Studies Presented to Benedekto Baczko and Ewa Wipszycka by Their Disciples*, Warsaw, 193-210.

- Mickwitz, G. (1922) *Schrift und Schriftkraft im ägyptischen Reich des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Helsinki: Akademische Buchhandlung, 207-225.
- Pestman, P. W. (1974) "Loans Bearing No Interest?," *JOP* 16, 7-10.
- Preussner, H. (1954) *Das christliche und die jüdische Buchwesen in den byzantinischen Papire des 6. u. 7. Jahrhunderts*, PhD-Thesis Erlangen.
- Remondou, R. (1921) "L'Église dans la société égyptienne à l'époque byzantine," *C. aff.* 4^e, 254-277.
- Schmeltz, G. (2002) *Kirchliche Institutionen im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*, Leipzig: K. G. Saur.
- Stippel, P. J. (1891) "Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ καταστάσις νομικῶν καὶ κτλ. von Füssen gegen Voranzahlung," *Festschr.* 1891-1892.
- Steinwenter, A. (1900) "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, kan. Abt., 19, 1-30.
- Tengler, H. (1894) *Die Buchführung im christlichen Ägypten* (1-2), *Beiträge*, St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercatoriae Verlag.
- Wiprzycka, E. (1972) *Les monastères et les activités économiques d'églises en Egypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle*, Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Wiprzycka, E. (2001) "Le fonctionnement interne des monastères et des boîtes en Egypte du point de vue économique," *JOP* 31, 169-186.
- Zilliacus, H. (1954) "The Strick Papyrus," *Zeitschr.* 1, 199-206.

THE CULTIVATION OF MONASTIC ESTATES IN LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT: SOME EVIDENCE¹ FROM COPTIC LAND LEASES AND RELATED DOCUMENTS²

JOHN SEBASTIAN RICHTER

1. INTRODUCTION

The following survey on cultivation of monastic estates according to the evidence from Coptic leases is in three parts. First, I sketch out the evidence, particularly as it relates to the occurrence of monks and monasteries in Coptic lease documents. Next, I deal with two documents from the dossier worked on by Sarah Clarkson, the Coptic papyri from the Hennigsdorf monastery of Apa Apollo. In an analysis of *P. Mon. Apollo* 26, a text which is called *nosthika*, although it differs conspicuously from all other Coptic *nosthika* documents, I will argue that this text, which attests to two monks taking possession of land belonging to the monastery's estate, has a functional counterpart in *P. Mon. Apollo* 28, which records a monk's renunciation of land from his monastery's estate. Finally, I will reconsider a textual issue connected with the *P. Mon. Apollo* dossier, the *aparche* collection, and I will try to show how *P. Mon. Apollo* 28 and 29 could have been related to the *aparche* collection documents.

1. COPTIC LEASE DOCUMENTS AND THE EGYPTIAN MONASTERIES

1.1 General Remarks

Unlike the Greek, Demotic, and Arabic³ land-leasing dossiers which have been assembled and thoroughly investigated over the last century, the Coptic lease documents – a collection of more than 100 items – are scattered over several editions, some of which are still provisional, and they have scarcely been analyzed or interpreted.⁴ Apart from occasional, but significant, references to lessors, lessees, and leases in private and business letters and in literary texts, Coptic evidence of land-leasing

¹ I should like to express my gratitude to Peter Schipani and James Jackson for the organizers of the Ireland conference 'The Administration of Monastic Estates in Late Antiquity and Early Islam' (Leipzig, 2006), and especially to Peter Schipani for his generous offer to give a small introduction to the present paper at the conference.

² For a recent bibliography, see *Monasteries (Greek, Coptic and Arabic)* (J. M. Martin, ed., 1988; Henney, 1967; Henney, 1977; and *P. Mon. A.*), also the annual *Studien, Monographien, Scripta et Opera* (see below), such as Henney (1966 and 2001), Röhrens (1990), Coptic (1993), Röhrens (1994 and 1995), and Röhrens (1997 and 1998) and Schipani (1998) to give only some most notable examples.

³ Cf. Hughes (1957), Seidl (1973), Falcó (1987), Falcó (1987), Martin (1988), and Apollon (2003).

⁴ Cf. Robinson (1933), *Early Arabic* (1936), and *Early Arabic* (1936).

⁵ I try to fill this gap by my habilitation *Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Heritage von Kopten, Wandalen und Sarmaten* (which is to be published in the *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*).

(the monastery of) St. Philothéos." This detailed description is of some significance, as two degrees of ownership are indicated. The actual landowner was St. Philothéos, i.e. his monastery, but obviously the tenant holds certain limited rights permitting him to claim a plot as *his* *ἑαυτοῦ* 'his district' (quite an unusual expression) and to authorize a tenant in his own name to cultivate crops on this plot and another one. All this happens without participation of the legal department of the monastery. This observation leads me to the second section.

2. A MONASTERY LEASING CONTRACT FROM MENA

In *P. Mon. Ipsolo 26*, a document designates itself as a *synthesis* which varies considerably from all other Coptic *synthesis* documents with regard to both format and content. The document is issued by two monks of the Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollis and is addressed to the *dekano* of the same monastery, represented by Apa Theopropos, the abbot *ἐκ κεφαλῆς*. The rarely well-preserved business clauses (lines 5-20) read as follows:

You have given us more or less eight *ἑκατὸν* 'setow' in the title of the tithing irrigated field which you have transferred and changed with the inhabitants of Menesha, so that we shall provide them with crops (properly) and they themselves with their own tithes (ἑκατὸν) crops (proper) under supervision of the *logos* and *cent* (authorised) from the tithing crop of the *ἑκατὸν* 'setow' (eight) *ἑκατὸν* 'setow' which are charged with and *ἑκατὸν* 'all days of our life'.

The last words before the papyrus break off, 'thus we, the first mentioned brother Enoch and brother H...' are ready to indicate the beginning of a clause dealing with the rent payment. The docket, preserved on the reverse, indicates that the rent was two *moneta* a year, a considerable amount. There are many oddities in this so-called *synthesis*. The Coptic verb *ἑκατὸν* 'meaning "possession" would fit an emphatic context at best, but sounds strange in a *synthesis* implying much more limited leaseholder rights. There is reason to believe that this expression was chosen in order to make the lessees liable for the land-tax payment, which the lessor would have been charged with otherwise. Also the Greek loan word *ἑκατὸν* 'execute of oneself, work with one's own hands' is unexpected. According to Hans I. Forster's dictionary, *P. Mon. Ipsolo 26* yields the only instance of the word within the entire corpus of Coptic documentary texts. And even here its occurrence is remarkable. It was surely the purpose of any lease to excuse the lessees from the burden of fieldwork, and the natural duty of tenants to do the job with their own hands, so why emphasize this fact? Indeed, there is another possible interpretation which cannot be explicitly excluded. In the Greek papyrus from Egypt, *ἑκατὸν* has a special semantic value according to Prieur: "to work with one's own hands" may also mean "not to let out on lease".¹ The wording of *P. Mon. Ipsolo 26* might thus have been intended as an *acknowledging* of the tenancy by the tenants. If so, this would be a clear difference to cases such as *P. Te. 400 St 1-7*, where monks apparently had been *permitted to* *voluntarily* leasehold property owned by their monastery. A further unique feature of the *synthesis* *P. Mon. Ipsolo 26* is its term of

¹ Forster 2002, vol. 1, p. 723.

² Prieur 1923, vol. 1, 243.

validity, unlike usual terms of *motheas* agreements which ran from one year to ten or twelve years (in a few cases), this agreement was practically unlimited, lasting "all the days" of the tenants' life. Another document from the *P' Mon Apolly* dossier (number 25, seems to be closely connected with the strange *motheas* document *P' Mon Apolly*, 26): a monk claims himself unable to make further payments of land-tax for a plot of swampy ground which is "upon" him (rather than, as he says, and he formally renounces every right to, and any liability for, this plot). His remuneration is addressed to the *dikaion* of the monastery, represented by its abbot Apa Daniél, who is said to have previously granted his permission to this transaction. Even *P' Mon Apolly*, 25 bears evidence for the reversal of the procedure attested by *P' Mon Apolly*, 26.

4. THE REVERSAL OF THE ABOVE FUNCTION

Anybody acquainted with Sarah Jackson's *magnum opus* knows the most intriguing issue connected with a certain type of documents in the *P' Mon Apolly* dossier, what was the function and selling of the undertaking called *apostol* (literally, "last-land" collection). Comprising twenty three items in *P' Mon Apolly*, it is by far the best attested business transaction carried out and recorded by the monks, yet the manuscripts are full of mistakes and errors. Thirty six two-leaf folios have rediscovered and reconstructed by Sarah. The better preserved formula, which she called "Father collection guaranty," works as follows: "A monk issues a document styled as a monk's knowledge of a plot of land and ever owned as such, as *apostol* (in a fellow monk's knowledge, being the receipt of some or more villager's instead of a loan in things of no kind, as it were). In these villages, a so-called 'upon' for Apa Apolly" is to be

P' Mon Apolly, 11. 1-16. As this was a very important project, it is important that it was not tampered with, nor were any of the monks responsible for its completion. It is the monks and the community that had agreed on the 15th Year of the monastic year, and the monks were responsible for the completion of the project. The monks were responsible for the completion of the project, and the monks were responsible for the completion of the project. The monks were responsible for the completion of the project, and the monks were responsible for the completion of the project.

The monks were responsible for the completion of the project, and the monks were responsible for the completion of the project. The monks were responsible for the completion of the project, and the monks were responsible for the completion of the project. The monks were responsible for the completion of the project, and the monks were responsible for the completion of the project.

P' Mon Apolly, 11. 1-16. As this was a very important project, it is important that it was not tampered with, nor were any of the monks responsible for its completion.

P' Mon Apolly, 11. 1-16. As this was a very important project, it is important that it was not tampered with, nor were any of the monks responsible for its completion.

¹ See below the notes on the "Father collection guaranty" in *P' Mon Apolly*, 11. 1-16. and Jackson 2000.

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

Το δεσμεύει ΝΑ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΩΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΝ ΕΙΣΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

ΑΠΟΚΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΝ

collected. Certain amounts of either *démouion* or *paktion* or both are mentioned, specifying or explaining the content of this *aparché*. Besides this formula, there is another called "fathic collection contract" by Sarah,¹² which forms a straight counterpart to the "guarantee" type whenever the "guarantee" has "I," the "contract" says "you," and vice versa.

According to Sarah Clarkson's interpretation,¹³ the setting or *Sitz im Leben* of these *aparché* collection documents was the collection of rent and tax payments to be paid by tenants of the monastery. "In the texts, monks are allocated areas for tithic collection which probably corresponded to monastic estates,"¹⁴ and elsewhere: "His interpretation is the most appropriate for the texts in this edition because they specify that tithic is then paid out as a tax on designated paction or *démouion*."¹⁵ This view has been challenged by Ewa Wopczycka, who claimed estates owned by a monastery could neither be leased out nor could their rents be collected without participation of the monastery's legal entity, the *abkaton*. Instead, Ewa Wopczycka suggested another interpretation of the procedure: "Je pense que dans les textes publiés par S. J. Clarkson, le mot *aparché* désigne ce qu'il désigne normalement, à savoir les premisses, et que ces textes attestent l'existence, en Égypte, d'une coutume que nous ignorons jusqu'à présent et qui consiste en ce que les moines collectent eux-mêmes les premisses, probablement en faisant du porte-à-porte. L'aparché-boutte recueillie au cours de la collecte, devait lui servir pour payer ses impôts (*démouion* ou *paction*). Elle le maintenait ou la répartition des localités entre les moines était faite, c'étaient les moines eux-mêmes qui devaient verser l'argent au percepteur des impôts, le *cheka* ou du monastère d'éminent par responsable."¹⁶

Yet there is a terminological argument speaking against this explanation and in favour of that given by Sarah Clarkson. Admittedly, *démouion* or *abkaton* meaning "land tax" or "tax" in particular, is more often used to designate "taxes" in general. However, to the best of my knowledge, *paktion* in Coptic documents always means rent to be paid by tenants for their leasehold property.¹⁷ In a Coptic *anaphoris* document¹⁸ and in all Hiberno records connected with leasehold affairs,¹⁹ *paktion* generally means the rent to be paid for one year leases. In Harnopolite documents, it always designates the rent for emphyteutic leasehold property, in contrast to *protes*, the term used to designate rent of short-term leases in the *anaphoris* documents from that area.²⁰

Is there a way out of that dilemma? Perhaps our observations concerning monks privately involved in leases and monks being tenants of their own monastery could indicate a solution. If it could be confirmed that monasteries let out their properties to individual members of their communities, permitting them to sublease monks would have been entitled to act as private lessors, letting out their small plots without direct participation of the actual land owner, the *abkaton*. The income collected from the tenants or rather, sub-tenants, could have been solemnly claimed "first fruits" for the holy landlord Apa Apollon, in keeping with Sarah Clarkson's interpretation. However, the question to be

¹² Clarkson [2002], 58–59; *J. Mon. Stud.* 8, 1.

¹³ Clarkson [2002], 7, 1.

¹⁴ Clarkson [2002], 6.

¹⁵ Clarkson [2002], 8.

¹⁶ Wopczycka [2002], 185.

¹⁷ Cf. Harnopolite Coptic Papyri, *Sorbonne* [2002], 102–103.

¹⁸ *PhW* 120.

¹⁹ In particular, the *anaphoris* and *epitaphic* documents; *Abbe*, 9, 10, 17, 18.

²⁰ Cf. *PhW*, 8, 51; *PhW* *Mon.* [2002a and 2002b], 1–61.

asked is, what advantage would such a complicated arrangement have brought to the monastery. In *P. Vind. I. p. 116*, 75 we met a monk liable to pay land tax for two plots from his monastery's estates, who had obviously not succeeded in turning money from that cultivation. But since *he* was the possessor, at least with regard to tax liability, he was the one who became indebted to the state, while the *abbot* remained free from debt. Could this have been the intended strategy, suggested under the continued tax pressure upon monasteries following the legislation of Abbot Markabēn Marwan? On the other hand, by leaving land from their monastery, monks also became creditors to *other* *document*, such as the monk Euseb and his brother in *P. Mos. 17*, 12, who engaged themselves to pay *taxiōn autotaxia* a year. Seen from this angle, Euseb's *Wespereka* may be right: other monks begged in villages in order to raise money or produce to be paid for their leased property as land tax to the state and as rent to the monastery. But why did they not grow vegetables on their fields? Whatever the outcome, any resolution of the *aparche* question has economic implications which will have to be reconciled with other papyrological and broader historical evidence.

Bibliography

- Hamaji, J. (1989) "Agrarian History and the Labour Organisation of Byzantine Large Estates," in: Bowman and Rogan 1989, 203-216.
- Hamaji, J. (2001) *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Credit, Labour, and Aristocratic Domination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bowman, A. K. and Rogan, I. (eds.) (1989) *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* (PHE 96). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brusch, W. (1981) "P-Hieroglyph 43 – eine koptische Verschlüsselung," *ZfA* 308, 93-105.
- Comfort, H. (1935) "Prolegomena to a Study of Late Byzantine Land Leases," *Aegyptus* 13, 589-609.
- Comfort, H. (1937) "Emphyteusis among the Papyi," *Aegyptus* 17, 5-24.
- Eyre, C. H. (1998) "Peasants and 'Modern' Leasing Strategies in Ancient Egypt," *JESHT* 40, 367-390.
- Felber, H. (1997) *Demotische Leaseschuldscheine der Ptolemäerzeit. Untersuchungen zur Aufbau, Entwicklung und inhaltlichen Funktion von Leaseschuldscheinen aus demotischen Texten* (Hg 10h 58). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Förster, H. (2002) *Beiträge zum koptischen Bauteil in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.
- Frantz-Murphy, G. (1986) *The Ptolemaic Administration of Egypt from the Arab Conquest to the Christian Era*. Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Frantz-Murphy, G. (1996) "Papyrus Agricultural Contracts in the Oriental Institute Museum from Third Ninth Century Egypt," in: *Annuaire d'Égyptologie* (Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago) 48 (Rev. *Annales* 66) Paris, 159-151.
- Frantz-Murphy, G. (1999) "Land-Tenure in Egypt in the First Five Centuries of Islamic Rule (Seventh-Twelfth centuries A.D.)," in: Bowman and Rogan 1989, 237-266.
- Graesson, J. (1985) "Les grands domaines, la vie et l'État en Egypte byzantine (recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative)," *Annales*, 1980.
- Hardy, E. R. (1931) *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hughes, A. R. (1952) *Saudi Ptolemaic Land Leases* (ANU 281). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hengstl, J. (1972) *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse. Neue Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bis Diokletian*. PhD thesis (Korn).
- Hering, H. (1967) *Untersuchungen zur Rechtspraxis im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten*. PhD thesis (Münch).
- Herrmann, J. (1958) *Studien zur Rechtspraxis im Recht des griechisch-ägyptischen Papyrus* (München) *Beiträge zur Papyrologie und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 41, München: Beck.
- Jordens, A. (1909) "Die Agrarverhältnisse im spätantiken Ägypten," *Liviana* 10, 114-152.

- Krause, M. (1985). "Zur Edition koptischer nichtliterarischer Texte. P. Harzbourg 45 neu bearbeitet." *ZfE* 11.2, 143-153.
- Krause, M. (1992). "Publikationen koptischer nichtliterarischer Texte der Jahre 1984-1988," in Rassart-Delbergh, M. and Rieu, E. (eds.), *Actes du II^e congrès Copte. Louvain-la-Neuve, 3-10 septembre 1988*, vol. II. Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain. Institut orientaliste, 89-103.
- MacCulloch, S. B. (1986). "Coptic Documentary Papyri from Aphroditu in the Chester Beatty Library." *BISP* 22, 197-203.
- Manning, J. G. (1998). "The Land-Tenure Regime in Ptolemaic Upper Egypt," in Bowman and Rowan (1998), 83-108.
- Mittler, E. (1905). *Zur Geschichte des Pächts in Aegypten*. C 45C/B Bd. XX. Abh. IV. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
- Mitsch, E. Q. (2003). *Rechtsgrundsätze des koptischen Pächts und Tempelland nach dem römischen Formular. (1861) in: Die Urkunden der Oxyrhynchitischen Synagogenbesuche der phil.-hist. Kl. 203. 1. Auflage nachgesehen u. u. A. neu herausgegeben. Rechtsgeschichte*. 10. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Oates, J. F. (1983). "Chronological Aspects of Ptolemaic Land Leases." *BISP* 1, 47-62.
- Papageorgiou, A. (2002). "Notes sur les actes de donation d'enfant au monastère Hébou de Saint-Plémontion." *MP* 32, 83-105.
- Priesske, F. (1928-1931). *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyriurkunden*. 3 vols. Berlin: Selbstverlag der Erben.
- Rathbone, D. (1990). "Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt." *Cambridge Philological Society* 216, 103-142.
- Rathbone, D. (1994). *Economy, Religion and Rural Society in Third-Century AD Egypt: The Hermopolis District and the Apollonius Estate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Richter, E. S. (2002a). "Alte Ischiasen im Rechtswortschatz koptischer Urkunden." *Long leg* 10, 389-399.
- Richter, E. S. (2002b). "Koptische Mietverträge über Geblinde und Teile von Geblinden." *MP* 32, 113-168.
- Richter, E. S. (2003). "Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet (III). P. Foud Copt. 1. 487. Arabische Pacht in koptischem Gewand." *MP* 33, 213-230.
- Richter, E. S. (2004). "Review on S. J. Clackson, *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo*." *ChZ* 99, 368-380.
- Roslandson, J. (1994). "Crop Rotation and Rent Payment in Oxyrhynchite Land Leases: Social and Economic Interpretations," in Holm-Jacobsen, A. (ed.) (1994). *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists. Copenhagen 23-29 August 1992*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 495-499.

- Rowlandson, J. (1990) *Landowners and Peasants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rowlandson, J. (1994) "Agricultural Tenancy and Village Society in Roman Egypt," in Bowman and Rogan 1989, 139-158.
- Ruffing, K. (1989) *Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und Syrien*. St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag.
- Schnebel, G. (2002) *Kirchliche Amtsbücher aus spätantiken Ägypten nach den Angaben der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*. Vol. 10 in the *Papyrologische Beihfte* 131. München/Leipzig: K.G. Saur.
- Schnebel, M. (1925) *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*. (München: Beiträge zur Papyrologie, Numismatik und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 7.) Munich: Beck.
- Seidl, J. (1973) *Rechtsnutzung und Rechtsgewalt nach den koptischen Texten der Ptolemäerzeit*. (Historische Forschungen der Wissenschaften, Sonderhefte des phil.-hist. Kl. 29.) Vienna: Verlag Akad. d. Wiss.
- Siemwenter, A. (1958) *Das Recht der koptischen Ägypten: (Handbuch der Altägyptenwissenschaft, Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums, 4. Teil: Das Recht des Papyri, 2. Bd.)*. Munich: Beck.
- Siemwenter, A. (1958) "Aus dem koptischen Vermögensrecht der Papyri," *Sacrorum Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Rom. Phil.* 31: 1-34.
- Ullrich, R. (1938) "Le bail a long terme dans le droit grec-égyptien," *Revue de la Science et d'Histoire*, vol. 31, 59-65.
- Ullrich, G. (2000) "Mithras," in *Deorum Papyri*, vol. 8, 271-278.
- Ullrich, S. (1984-1992) *Die christlich-ägyptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vols. 37-41, Beihfte 14-17. Wiesbaden: F. Reichert.
- Waszyńska, E. (1985) *Die Ptolemäische Ägypten: eine altägyptische Papyrologie*. 1. Die Ptolemäer. Leipzig/Berlin: W. G. Teubner.
- Willong, J. H. (1990) "Agriculture among the Christian Population of Early Islamic Egypt: Practice and Theory," in Bowman and Rogan 1989, 217-235.
- Wipszycka, E. (1972) *Les monastères et activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle*. (Papyri 10.) Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Wipszycka, E. (1992) "Fonctionnement de l'église égyptienne aux IV^e-VIII^e siècles (sur quelques aspects)," in Decobert, Chr. (ed.), *Fonctionnement de l'église: Mélanges offerts au père Monneret-Aubert*, vol. 1 (Biblioth. 107). Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 116-145.
- Wipszycka, E. (2003) "Le fonctionnement interne des monastères et des laïcs en Égypte du point de vue économique. A propos d'une publication récente de textes coptes de Bawit," *HEP* 31, 169-180.
- De Zulueta, F. (1989) *The Ptolemies: A History*. (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, 12.) Oxford:

DAS ARCHIV DES ARCHIMANDRITEN APA GEORGIOS. TEXTE AUS *P.FAY.COPT.* UND *P.LOND.COPT.*

(GROSSEWAHL)

Das am Ostrand des Fayyum, rund 8 km nördlich des Dorfes Lahun, gelegene Kloster Den el-Hammam hat bisher nur wenig Aufmerksamkeit von Reisenden und Forschern erfahren. Johann Georg Brunsche es auf seinem „*Ägyptenläufer*“ und beschrieb seine Anfänge im 6. Jhr. d. n. Chr. Otto Meinardus, in dessen „*Byzantine and Arab Egypt*“, in die Fayyum-Liste den Kloster eintrug. Das 8. Jhr. d. n. Chr. brach Petrie kam während seiner Arbeiten in Madiat 1886 nach Den el-Hammam und brachte von dort koptische Papyri mit, die W. E. Crum 1893 publizirte. Sie – und weitere in *P.Lond.Copt.* edierte Texte – sind zur Zeit die einzigen verfügbaren Quellen über das Kloster in spätantiker und frühmittelalterlicher Zeit.

Über Petries Entdeckung in Den el-Hammam zitiert er keinen Bericht, nur einen Brief an Crum, aus dem dieser im Vorwort seiner Edition zitiert: „The Den has been rebuilt a few centuries ago, but there are outlying of a much larger Den showing in the ground. Outside the village Den are rubbish mounds. Here we found plenty of scraps of papyrus, which the natives brought and sold to me in scrap lots. I never had any occasion to suspect any outside source.“ Demnach wurde noch nie eine systematische Ausgrabung oder auch nur eine Sanierungs-Arbeit durchgeführt, obwohl Petrie und Meinardus Strukturen und Kennzeichen auf der Oberfläche erwähnen. Eine archaische Untersuchung der Stelle würde zweifellos wertvolle Informationen über das Kloster ergeben, vielleicht auch neue Papyri ans Licht bringen.

Die von Petrie entdeckten anderen Stücke hat Crum wohl direkt aus Petrie erhalten, sie befinden sich heute in der British Library. Einige von ihnen sind in *P.Lond.Copt.* beschrieben oder beschrieben, anderen sind dort auch stehen weitere Texte abgedruckt, die zu den Papyri aus Den el-Hammam gehören. Die Inventarnummern zeigen, dass diese weiteren Texte auf anderem Wege und wohl früher in die British Library kamen, möglicherweise schon nach der 1886-1887-Expedition, publizierte in *P.Lond.Copt.* 36 Texte, von denen vier aus Hawara stammten, und einen in Solihay gekannt wurde, doch zeigen auch diese durch Personen- und Ortsnamen eine große Nähe zu den Den el-Hammam-Papyri.

Lebensregeln, 1100, 1101 und 1102, 1103.

Meinardus Brief 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3

Kleinere Stücke, die ihm nicht publikationswürdig erschienen, hat er am wesp. niedert. sind außerdem einige arabisch- und syrische Papiere¹ und die arabischen Rückseiten von *P. Faw. Copt.* 15; 19; 22 und 37. In den Editionen *P. Faw. Copt.* und *P. Faw. Arab.* liegen damit 63 Texte vor, die in der el-Hammam gefunden wurden oder die zu dieser Gruppe gehören. Ihr Beitrag für die historische Beschreibung des Klosters soll im folgenden dargestellt werden.

Es handelt sich bei diesen Texten zum überwiegenden Teil um Fragmente, die zum ersten Mal aus dem weltanschaulichen Leben und dem Stifterwesen, zum Beispiel auf Papir- und Pergamenten enthaltene biblische, patristische und liturgische Texte, kleinerer Texte enthält cursive Datums- und nur in einem Fall noch eine Angabe auf paläographischer Grundlage. Angesehen von *P. Ber. 1009* 2, Fragmenten des Jakobus- und Indagantes aus dem Neuen Testament, die *P. Ber. 1009* 10 und 11 datiert, setzt er die Texte alle ins 10. u. 11. Jh. Die auf den der Edmon beige gebliebenen Falteln abgebildeten Papiere scheinen mir jedoch eher ins 8. u. 9. Jh. zu datieren. (Wer überlegungen zum Beschreibstoff kommt, kann zu einer ähnlichen Einschätzung: 'There is so little paper in the collection, that we may suppose it not to reach much beyond the end of the ninth century, while the comparative frequency of Arabic names, etc., point to about the beginning of the eighth century as a probable *terminus a quo*'.)

Die Hauptperson in dieser Gruppe von Texten, an der viele Briefe geschrieben sind, die selbst viele Briefe geschrieben hat, und die in verschiedenen Texten erwähnt wird, ist der Archimandrit Ap. Georgios. Nur in zweien der dreizehn Texte, in denen er begegnet, wird er als Archimandrit bezeichnet. Viermal nennt man ihn Ap. Georgios. Die Briefe, die er selbst verfasst, unterschreibt er einfach mit *Georgios*. Manchmal trägt er die *sekretion* „Angehr. Zweimal trägt er den Titel *Diakon*. Einmal sogar mit der Herkunftszugehörung *Πατριάρχης*. Georgios kann als „heiliger Vater“ und als *πρεσβύτερος* „Vater“ angesprochen werden, er ist aber nicht die ranghöchste Person im Kloster. Er selbst schreibt einmal an einen „geliebten heiligen Vater“, daneben ihm wird einmal ein

$$\|y\|_{L^2(\mathbb{R}^n)} \leq C \|f\|_{L^2(\mathbb{R}^n)} + C \|g\|_{L^2(\mathbb{R}^n)}.$$
$$Y_{\text{eff}} = P^{1/2} \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 + \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{\beta^2} \frac{1}{\alpha^2}}} \approx 10^8$$

Y. A. Izrael'skii, *Uchebno-Metodicheskaia Literatura* (Literature for Study and Methodical Purposes), *Uchebno-Metodicheskaia Literatura* (Literature for Study and Methodical Purposes), *Uchebno-Metodicheskaia Literatura* (Literature for Study and Methodical Purposes).

Platanus occidentalis L. (Amer. Hainb.) *Populus nigra* L. (Schwarzpappel) *Salix nigra* Marsh. (Schwarzpappel) *Ulmus americana* Mill. (Amer. Ulme)

[illegible]

* $\frac{1}{n} \sum_{j=1}^n \log p_j$

[illegible][illegible]

2. $\frac{1}{2} \leq \frac{1}{2} \leq \frac{1}{2}$

* $P(T_1) = P(T_2) = 2/3$ (wegen $\pi_1 = \pi_2 = 2/3$).

$$^{\circ} \quad J_1 = 0.00176 \text{ cal./deg. mole } ^{\circ}\text{C.}, \quad J_2 = -0.00890 \text{ cal./deg. mole } ^{\circ}\text{C.}, \quad J_3 = 0.00000 \text{ cal./deg. mole } ^{\circ}\text{C.}$$

• *Journal of Management Education* 27:200

[illegible]

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1036.

wäre neben Gregorius ein zweiter Archimandrit bezeugt: Rückschlüsse auf die Art des Mönchtums bzw. auf die Klosterverfassung lassen sich aus dem Begrüßungsansatz wenig ableiten, da er mehr ein Ehren- als eine Funktionsbezeichnung war. Auch die Frage, ob es immer nur einen Archimandriten im Kloster geben konnte, ob Pater Gregor vor oder nach Gregorius anzusetzen ist, oder ob sie eventuell zur gleichen Zeit existierten, muss offen bleiben.

Mehrere Angehörige des Klosters waren Diakone, zweimal sind Priester bezeugt. Others begegnet der Name Petros, und aus *Petrus* (133) wird deutlich, dass es sich um mindestens drei verschiedene Personen handeln muss. Eine von ihnen war Diakon, eine andere Priester. Ein weiterer Priester ist Chionophoros, während Diakone sind Apollonios (136), Dattianos (136b), Gabriel (137), Kyros, Metran, Monre, Poxanthos, Remrei, Scheute und Hinnas. Als Laienmitglieder bezeugen Apollon, Apa Jakob, Apa Marinos, Apa Metas, Apa Merkarios, Apa Pischai, Apa Proumen, Apa Viktor, Athanasios, Marbre, Israh, Johannes, Kamel, Kyrtanos,

$$\|y_{j+1} - y_j\|_{p(\cdot), \omega(\cdot)} \leq \|y_j - y_{j-1}\|_{p(\cdot), \omega(\cdot)}^{1-\theta} \|y_j - y_{j-1}\|_{p(\cdot), \omega(\cdot)}^\theta$$

**Adapted from* "The Role of the Nurse in the Management of the Patient with Diabetes Mellitus," *Nurse Practitioner*, Vol. 10, No. 6, June 1985.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

[illegible][illegible]
$$f_1^2 + f_2^2 + \dots + f_n^2 \leq \frac{1}{n} (f_1 + f_2 + \dots + f_n)^2$$
[illegible][illegible]

P. J. Moore 1421

^a $\chi^2 = 1.11$, $df = 1$, $p = .29$.

* *P*-values are given as χ^2 values with degrees of freedom specified in parentheses. * *p* < 0.05 from McNemar's χ^2 test.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1039-1043.

• **Intervall** = 120 min

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

^a $T(t) = (1 - \alpha)T_0 + \alpha T_1$, where T_0 and T_1 are the temperatures of the two reservoirs.

J. L. J. van der Wal, M. J. M. B. A. M. van't Hof-Grootenboer, J. H. M. M. van't Hof-Grootenboer, J. H. M. M. van't Hof-Grootenboer

[illegible]

1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

J. L. ...

* *Journal of Management Education* 25(10):1139-1150

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

$$J^* = J^*(\gamma, \gamma_0) = \int_{\gamma_0}^{\gamma} \frac{1}{\gamma} d\gamma = \ln \gamma \Big|_{\gamma_0}^{\gamma} = \ln \frac{\gamma}{\gamma_0}.$$

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

• *Environ Biol Fish* (2015) 98:123–130

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

$$f^{(k)}(x) = \frac{1}{k!} f^{(k)}(x_0) + \frac{1}{(k-1)!} f^{(k-1)}(x_0)(x-x_0) + \dots + \frac{1}{2!} f^{(2)}(x_0)(x-x_0)^2 + \frac{1}{1!} f^{(1)}(x_0)(x-x_0) + f(x_0)$$
[illegible]
$$J^{\pm}(t) = J_{\pm}(t) - J_{\pm}(0) = \int_0^t \dot{J}_{\pm}(t') dt' = \int_0^t \dot{J}_{\pm}(t') e^{iH(t-t')} e^{-iH(t-t')} dt'$$

Epistathos,¹ Lukas,² Simon,³ Stephanos⁴ und Theodoros.⁵ Möglicherweise war auch Kolluthos ein Mönch, aus dem Brief *P.Loc. Egypt. 546* geht mit hervor, dass er sich in Babylon aufhielt und durch den Schüler Kyrillos etwas gebracht bekommen sei.⁶

Eine Episode aus dem Klosterleben des Licht hat verschiedene Bereiche wohl, lässt sich andeutungsweise aus dem Brief *P.Loc. Egypt. 1*⁷ erzählen. Georgios schreibt an ihm untergeordnete Mönche seine "Söhne", die im Streit mit einander liegen. Es geht darum, wie man mit Bienen umgeht, um deren es Schwierigkeiten mit der Ernte gibt, und besonders mit einem jungen Mann, Mestharios. Er hatte vor das *katantipon* den *Atar* bzw. das *katantipon* in der Kirche gestellt werden sollen, hat sich aber wohl durch Einlegen entzogen. Georgios hat mit seiner Frau vor das *katantipon* zu bringen, in übrigen beirrägt er, dass seine Briefpartner die Sache vor den Bischof gebracht hätten.

Auch wenn sich der Streitpunkt nicht mehr völlig aufklären lässt, wird doch deutlich, dass es sich um einen Konflikt größerer Ordnung handelt. Mestharios wurde in der Kirche zur Rechenschaft gezogen, weil die Mönche, die der Fall hatte, Regeln verstoßen konnten ihn aber nicht finden und wandten sich deshalb an den Bischof. Zweite Bestimmung zu vermuten. Die Bienen sollten wohl dem Kloster Abgaben bringen. Georgios selbst sich überlegen, weil mit dem Bischof gleich die übergeordnete Kirchenrechtliche Instanz betraffet werden würde. Bemerkenswert ist, dass eine Verhandlung offenbar im Klosterraum vor den Angehörigen war, andernfalls war in *P.Loc. Egypt. 143* (1) am Vorfall (1) im Kloster der Kirche oder wie in *P.Museo 134* am außerhalb. Im Bischof wird wohl nur in *P.Loc. Egypt. 11*, sondern auch in den Briefen *P.Loc. Egypt. 21* und *25* erwähnt. In *21*, 100 hat er den Namen: *Abbe Maroud* und in dem von Kyrillos aus Medinet Farafra sehen wollen, doch ist dieser Name in den Listen von Mönchen, *Pedelos* und *Wasp*, nicht verzeichnet.

Über die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Klosters gibt es nur wenige Andeutungen, neben dem Konflikt mit den Bienen in *P.Loc. Egypt. 11* werden, so zum Brief *Dachn*,⁸ in einem anderen Brief⁹ erwähnt. Eine *lane*, *P.Loc. Egypt. 55*, vorzüglich *Galals*, *improvis*, *60* *xxx*,¹⁰ *1* *xxix*,¹¹ und *Werkzeuge* *improvis*,¹² *draußene*, *eprou*,¹³ *housou*,¹⁴ *mand* *standit* *sold* als einer Werkstatt. Die

¹ *P.Loc. Egypt. 126*, 100-15.

² *P.Loc. Egypt. 714*.

³ *P.Loc. Egypt. 110*.

⁴ *P.Loc. Egypt. 117*.

⁵ *P.Loc. Egypt. 115*.

⁶ *P.Loc. Egypt. 546*.

⁷ *P.Loc. Egypt. 1*.

⁸ *Dachn*, 100.

⁹ *Dachn*, 100.

¹⁰ *Wasp*, 100.

¹¹ *P.Loc. Egypt. 55*, 107.

¹² *P.Loc. Egypt. 1*.

¹³ *P.Loc. Egypt. 55*, 6.

¹⁴ *P.Loc. Egypt. 55*, 8.

¹⁵ *P.Loc. Egypt. 55*, 9.

¹⁶ *P.Loc. Egypt. 114*.

¹⁷ *P.Loc. Egypt. 117*.

¹⁸ *P.Loc. Egypt. 115*.

Bibliography

- Caplan, M. (2002). *Christian Egypt: Egypt's Christian Monastic Heritage*. Lake Minnetonka: Minnesota Liturgical Press.
- Edalati, G. (1988). *Hieroglyphen-Paläontologie Orientalis II: Paläontologie Hieroglyphen Paläontologie Hieroglyphen*. Praha: Messageria.
- Ort, G. (1984). *Concise Hieroglyphic Dictionary*. *Journal of Egyptology* 147, Sub. 5/2. Ailaga 11, Löwen: Begleit.
- Johann Georg (1930). *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen-Konkordanz*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- MacCall, F. S. B. (1994). "The Royal Cemetery: Texts and Translations." *BSP* 31, 141-156, pl. 56-84.
- Mendelsohn, J. L. A. (1977). *The Hieroglyphic Dictionary of J. Mendelsohn*. Kairo: M. A. Press.
- Munier, H. (1941). *Recherches sur les hiéroglyphes de l'Égypte*. Kairo: Société d'Archéologie Égypte.
- Rathbone, D. (2001). "Mapping the South-West Fayyum: Sites and Texts." in: *Archaeology, Egyptology, and the Fayyum*. *Journal of Egyptology* 147, Sub. 5/2. Ailaga 11, Löwen: Begleit.
- Schubert, G. (2002). *Konkordanz Hieroglyphen-Paläontologie Orientalis II*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Stegemann, A. (1956). *Konkordanz Hieroglyphen-Paläontologie Orientalis II*. Heidelberg: Selbstverlag Hubert.
- Turner, S. (1992). *Konkordanz Hieroglyphen-Paläontologie Orientalis II*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Uyterhoeven, F. (2002). *Hawass's Egypt: Texts and Hieroglyphs on the Surface: A Preliminary Report of the R. L. Egyptian Site Studies*. *Journal of Egyptology* 147, Sub. 5/2. Ailaga 11, Löwen: Begleit.
- Wiprzycka, J. (1991). *Ägyptische Hieroglyphen-Paläontologie Orientalis II*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Wort, K. A. (1994). "A Checklist of Ptolemaic Egypt." *JEP* 100, 263-318.

P.Oxy. LXIII 4397: THE MONASTERY COMES FIRST OR PIOUS REASONS BEFORE EARTHLY SECURITIES*

JACQUELINE ELLIOTT

The deed which is the object of the present study, one of the longest documentary texts preserved on a papyrus, tells us of a certain risky financial business entered into by the 'well-sanctified' monastery of Apa Hierax. The whole account covers quite a time-span and all the original *dramatis personae* had probably been dead long before the final act was concluded. The story finally resulted in the present settlement of claims in which the monastery of Apa Hierax confirms having received its money back from none less than the actual head of the house of the Apiones, Flavius Apion II. This document raises a number of questions concerning the legal status of monasteries and their representatives in conducting financial and legal transactions and especially about the relation between legal theory and practice in late Antique Egypt. It is also one of the most important pieces of evidence of the late Antique popularity of a practice nowadays commonly referred to as 'alternative dispute resolution'. In the present paper I shall try to examine the legal content of the deed and to provide an answer why this conflict solving form was chosen by the counterparts.

The parties to the deed were, on the one side, Flavius Apion II, represented by his slave Menes, who in the absence of his master received a stipulation guaranteeing the execution of the settlement, and, on the other, the priest Joseph and Theodoros, prior and steward respectively of the monastery of Apa Hierax, who in turn submitted that they acted with the approval and on behalf of all their confrats. They both declared to be illiterate – at first sight a curious thing for a priest and a steward. It most probably meant that neither Joseph nor Theodoros could read and write Greek, but that they were literate in Coptic. The document is subscribed on their behalf by Pansathos, son of Philoxenos.

The present agreement was preceded by a long legal dispute. Some years before the year 545 when this final settlement of claims was made, a certain Diogenes, *i.e. scholasticus* originating from Oxyrhynchus, while in the capital city, found himself in need of financial support. Luckily, he met there his kinsman Theophilus acting on behalf of the monastery of Apa Hierax. This spiritual foundation whose exact location remains a mystery, is only known from yet another papyrus, P.Oxy. 11 4610 ff. (1–537). The later text informs us that the monks of Apa Hierax produced to Diogenes interestingly the other party in the document is again closely connected to the Apiones and it must have been preserved in the Apiones' dossier as well. Theophilus lent to Diogenes eighty *solidi* belonging to his

* I would like to thank Peter Wapnewski (Worms) who has read the draft of this article for her comments and explanations and Derek Sells (Harvard) for having reviewed it. I also thank the two anonymous referees of the *Journal of Egyptian Studies* for their comments and suggestions. I am indebted to Peter Wapnewski for the very interesting and useful suggestions and comments on the final draft of this article.

Most recently on the Apiones see a recent study by Peter Wapnewski, *Monasteries, Monks, Money* (Leuven, 1996), pp. 134–155, and H. Strasburger II, *Die Apion-Brüder* (Leipzig, 1992), pp. 134–146 and 147, especially 141–142. There is still considerable discussion about the exact date of the deed, see e.g. H. Strasburger, *op. cit.*, 139–140.

On a general introduction to Apa Hierax see e.g. J. G. Griffiths, *Monasteries of Egypt* (Oxford, 1974), 1–247, 1–10, 15–16 and on translation on Macdonald, *op. cit.* where Joseph is priest of Hierax and Theodoros is 'Apion's steward' (Apion's letters). As Leslie Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 104, note 1, we know, however, that Apion was a pious and literate individual.

monastery with an annual interest of six percent. The debt was duly secured by a mortgage of an irrigated plot of land measuring sixteen and one-half arouras that Diogenes owned in the village of Elphas. Some time afterwards Diogenes still in need of financial troubles as it seems, borrowed another fully *solidi* from the monastery – again through the agency of Theophilus. This time, a *hypotheca generalis* – a mortgage of all the present and future property of the debtor, securing the creditor's claims – was created in favour of the monastery to guarantee repayment of the full debt with the accumulated interest.

At this point we already spot a few canaries. Firstly, one may ask how it was possible that a relatively unknown monastery had provided its representative with such an impressive sum of money (which basically means that the holy institution must have disposed of much greater funds). The editor of P. Ch. 11360 supposed Apa Hierax to be a very Eucharistic monastery, not only the amount of repays was not impressive but also its prior was only a deacon. But neither of these facts seems decisive in determining the wealth and importance of the monastery. The quantity of merchandise recorded in the papyrus depended on the order and the ecclesiastical rank of the prior may have nothing to do with the real size of his religious establishment. The conclusion only shows how precious information drawn from a singular document may be misleading, and document indicates in any case that the monastery could freely dispose of great sums of money.

Thomas Markewicz shows in his article in this book that monks not only frequently took part in the credit network, but also apparently disposed of rather large sums of ready money. They – notwithstanding the imperial regulations and canonical norms – did have their private resources, which they used and multiplied, sometimes even accumulating apparently considerable wealth.¹ In addition, various legal regulations indicate that monasteries took part in financial transactions as important moneylenders and borrowers. We may recall, for instance, the *Novella* 46 of c. 437, which – in cases when a church lacked money to pay its debts – granted an exception to the general ban on the alienation of ecclesiastical real estates introduced by the *Novella* 7 of c. 438. In such situations monks would obviously be the natural providers of their own spiritual houses' investing common wealth. We have noticed² here, however, that sometimes it is actually difficult to discern whether a monk or a nun acted in his/her own name – or on behalf of their monastic community.

In our case, however, it is absolutely certain that the money was lent on behalf of the whole monastic community – it is a pity to the settlement (c. 41–84), and to its favour the mortgage was instituted and the deeds were executed (c. 11–27–45). A lawyer spots here immediately a crucial issue

¹ Cf. C. O. Brunschwig, 'Le crédit monastique en Égypte', *Revue Égyptologique* 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 3571, 3572, 3573, 3574, 3575, 3576, 3577, 3578, 3579, 3580, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584, 3585, 3586, 3587, 3588, 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592, 3593, 3594, 3595, 3596, 3597, 3598, 3599, 3600, 3601, 3602, 3603, 3604, 3605, 3606, 3607, 3608, 3609, 3610, 3611, 3612, 3613, 3614, 3615, 3616, 3617, 3618, 3619, 3620, 3621, 3622, 3623, 3624, 3625, 3626, 3627, 3628, 3629, 3630, 3631, 3632, 3633, 3634, 3635, 3636, 3637, 3638, 3639, 3640, 3641, 3642, 3643, 3644, 3645, 3646, 3647, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3652, 3653, 3654, 3655, 3656, 3657, 3658, 3659, 3660, 3661, 3662, 3663, 3664, 3665, 3666, 3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671, 3672, 3673, 3674, 3675, 3676, 3677, 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3688, 3689, 3690, 3691, 3692, 3693, 3694, 3695, 3696, 3697, 3698, 3699, 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703, 3704, 3705, 3706, 3707, 3708, 3709, 3710, 3711, 3712, 3713, 3714, 3715, 3716, 3717, 3718, 3719, 3720, 3721, 3722, 3723, 3724, 3725, 3726, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3731, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3735, 3736, 3737, 3738, 3739, 3740, 3741, 3742, 3743, 3744, 3745, 3746, 3747, 3748, 3749, 3750, 3751, 3752, 3753, 3754, 3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 3840, 3841, 3842, 3843, 3844, 3845, 3846, 3847, 3848, 3849, 3850, 3851, 3852, 3853, 3854, 3855, 3856, 3857, 3858, 3859, 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3868,

the *Novella*¹² wherein a corporal pledge of church property is prohibited and 'at attempted' declared void, but a *hypotheca generalis* is still admitted. Seeing that the scope of the norm was protection of the ecclesiastical and monastic property, we observe that the legislator himself seems to have associated little risk with this kind of security, at the same time recognizing the efficacy of the corporal pledge.

Returning to the monastery's loans, we arrive at the point at which, upon Diogenes' death, the debts were still not repaid (ll. 45-60). At that moment the monks learnt that their debtor was not only insolvent, but that he also had other creditors whose rights were secured by prior mortgages. Apparently the most eminent was Fl. Strategios II, who started legal actions wishing to sue Diogenes' heirs in order to get his money back.

Once the presumptive *ab intestate* heirs of Diogenes – his brother Apollonius and sister Klemitia, had renounced the succession, Fl. Strategios had to find other ways to get his obligation fulfilled. Index 58-59 describe how he did it: in absence of the heirs, he had to petition to obtain the ownership of Diogenes' inheritance by the right of the mortgages (*ἐκ τῶν ἐκαστοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ ἀποσπαστῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐκαστοῦ ἀποσπαστῶν*). It seems that Strategios applied a mixture of two legal procedures. Firstly, as there were no heirs of his debtor, he probably asked for *invenio in possessionem* of the deceased debtor's estate.¹³ Having obtained it, he should have tried to sell it (*ἐκπλήρωσεν ἡντινοῦν*) and get satisfaction from the price obtained. This, however, did not happen – either he did not attempt it at all, or he was not successful, as the papyrus tells us that he was compelled to 'petition for ownership'. It is very likely that what is meant here is the procedure known as *compulsatio domini*.¹⁴ This kind of pledge execution was retained by Justinian by c. 11. 3. 30 (c. 11. 3. 30a) the creditor – unless the original loan contract secured by pledge foresaw a different way of its execution – having obtained the possession of the pledge was supposed to try to sell it for a period of two years, in case no possible purchaser could be found, he could petition the emperor to obtain ownership. And so the imperial privilege, even more likely to have been granted considering the social position of Strategios, made him the rightful owner of all of Diogenes' property, included of course the plot of irrigated land pledged to the monastery.

Apparently the monastery was seeking its own right at the same time. The monks must have realised quite quickly the successful efforts of Fl. Strategios, and so they sent Theophilos again to Constantinople in order to sue Strategios for at least the irrigated land. The monastery's envoy may have started a judicial proceeding – the formulation of the remuneration clause, that the monks had 'learnt from accurate laws they had in right of a loan on mortgage' seems to allude to a failed trial, cf. ll. 171-172. And his claims were refused (ll. 69-82): a simple and ancient rule of law concerning pledgees was applied: *prior tempore, potior iure*. Later secondary codes before the earlier one (ll. 82-86). Theophilos at that point changed his strategy abandoning the legal way (useless, as he well knew) – he realised that monastery had no claim (*ἐννομία* *οὐκ ἔστιν ἔσται*) to the plot and setting to appeal to Strategios' religious and pious consciousness. Curiously, the consular did not want to hand the contestable plot of land over to Aps. Hierax, he rather preferred paying off Diogenes' debts in money. We may only speculate to the reason – perhaps the value of the field was much higher than the original

¹² The procedure was originally described in the *leges*: *... de iure emptionis et donationis per personam* 4 and 192^a, 192^b, c. 1 D. 46.5.7.4 (ll. 42-60) and 6. 3. 78.

¹³ See Kaser 1973, 3. 252-3.

debt that it secured. And so Strategos ordered people managing his estates to return the money to the monastery. They were, however, only ready to pay one pound (72 solidi) of gold. Interestingly, they did not give it to the monastery but deposited it with the Oxythongite *zygotastes*. Sereios, apparently creating a *depositum irregularem*, the money was to be lent at profit to provide income for the monastery until a suitable plot of land was found; once it was found it was to be bought and transferred to the monastery. Just to complicate the story further, both Sereios and Strategos II died (the latter before 543),¹ and the remaining fifty-eight *solidi* were repaid before any suitable estate was found.

The monastery managed to get seventy-two *solidi* from Sereios' heirs and again sent an envoy to the capital to ask the present head of the house, Fl. Apion II, for the rest of the debt. He, acting together with his mother Euphrosia as curator, ordered his people to repay the remaining part of the money. A small note on Euphrosia's role in the document may now be appropriate. Contrary to what the editor of the document says, her son was already a *major*, as every other Roman male *spontaneus* from the age of fourteen. The presence of the curator and her approval for the act was due to the ancient rules introduced by the *Lex Julia* which allowed Romans younger than twenty-five (*impubes*) *significative autem* to evade the effects of their legal actions should they turn out to have been concluded to their detriment. The application of *Lex Julia* would mean that a curator had to approve only of dispositive transactions of his or her ward. A verified dispositive act of a *minor* (*significative autem*) had full legal efficacy. On the contrary, no authorisation was needed for any acquisitive acts – as long as the person in question was older than 7.² No conclusion may therefore be drawn concerning the age of Fl. Apion II from the fact that in P. 120, no. 1988, of 9th October 543 he acted alone.³ This document is a simple receipt addressed to him in which someone confirms having received various *solidi*. There was no danger that Apion would ever think of evading the legal results of this act.

Back to the Apion II debt: so, finally, the monks got their money back, and moreover, in ready coin and not, as Strategos originally wanted, in a kind of a trust to buy a new plot of land. Theodoros and Joseph stressed that they were receiving money back only because of the previously-disposed will of young Apion and his mother, and before them of Strategos, who had all acted *con bonae gratiae*. What follows, is basically the clause of the 'final' renunciation of any claims to the plot of land presently belonging to Fl. Apion's estate. Its format is typical: the clause excludes any possibility of any further controversy conducted both in court and out of it. It further states that the parties abandoned the right to petition the emperor and would not try to seek justice in the holy church (ll. 769–769).⁴ This clause is strengthened by a penal stipulation (l. 180), and its fulfillment secured by a general mortgage on the monastery's property (ll. 183–185). All the parties involved clearly stated that earthly securities ended before pious reasons. Still, the settlement of claims was made, probably to prevent any future legal (even if not very well-founded) claims on the part of the monastery.

A final and conclusive point that has to be briefly considered here is the legal form of the present deed. In terms of legal anthropology this conflict was resolved through a negotiation, as – it seems at least – the parties, unlike many other late Antique settlements, were not aided by intermediaries.⁵ This

¹ See Meyer 2004: 360.

² Various studies have been conducted on the topic, but see from the most recent works Francisco Mesonero (Mesonero 2000), Marguerite Jouk de Laithoudière (Jouk de Laithoudière 2004).

³ See also the receipt of 543 (P. 120, no. 1988) (Jouk de Laithoudière 2004: 277).

⁴ Cf. a very similar formulation in P. 120, no. 1988 (Jouk de Laithoudière 2004: 277, l. 185–4).

⁵ Cf. Boudard 1967, 2006, 2008; Jouk de Laithoudière 2004; Jouk de Laithoudière 2006; Jouk de Laithoudière 2007; Jouk de Laithoudière 2008; Jouk de Laithoudière 2009; Jouk de Laithoudière 2010; Jouk de Laithoudière 2011; Jouk de Laithoudière 2012; Jouk de Laithoudière 2013; Jouk de Laithoudière 2014; Jouk de Laithoudière 2015; Jouk de Laithoudière 2016; Jouk de Laithoudière 2017; Jouk de Laithoudière 2018; Jouk de Laithoudière 2019; Jouk de Laithoudière 2020; Jouk de Laithoudière 2021; Jouk de Laithoudière 2022; Jouk de Laithoudière 2023; Jouk de Laithoudière 2024; Jouk de Laithoudière 2025.

was probably due to the great discrepancy between their positions, and the factual feebleness of Apa Hieras's argumentation. The monks were only petitioners from the moment they had realised they had no legal claim to the mortgaged land.

Settlements of claims or *transactions* became extremely common in the late Antique papyri as a way of conflict resolution.¹ At the same time we have very few testimonies of the application of civil judicial procedure – scholarship has formulated various hypotheses explaining this phenomenon. The most extreme opinion, postulating that civil courts ceased to exist in the course of the sixth century C.E., has mostly been proven to be too far-fetched.² It is much more likely that the rise of transactions was due to a mixture of circumstances: settlements may have seemed to the contestants quicker, easier and more durable – and above all cheaper – than civil judgments. Many settlements were reached within families (especially in litigations resulting from hereditary disputes), and a few involve people connected to the church.³ In both of these contexts an out-of-court conflict resolution may have been chosen because of its more discreet character. Finally, a settlement was the only way to achieve results in discordance with the statutory law. This was precisely the case of Apa Hieras's conflict with the *domni gnomai* of Apophis, where pious inclination prevailed over earthly guarantees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alluin, A. (1992) "Observations on Civil Jurisdiction in Late Byzantine and Early Arabic Egypt," in: Johnson, J. H. (ed.), *Life in the Middle Ages in Egypt from Cambridge to Constantinople and Beyond* (Chicago: University of Chicago Oriental Institute & Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 51), 1–29.
- Barone Adesi, G. (1988) "Il sistema giustiniano delle proprietà ecclesiastiche," in: Cortese, E. (ed.), *La proprietà delle proprietà* (Milan: Giuffrè), 251–260.
- Barone Adesi, G. (1993) "Dal dibattito cristiano sulla destinazione dei beni economici alla configurazione in termini di persona delle *congregatio domini* destinate *pro carnis*," in: *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana IV Congresso Internazionale* (Perugia), 231–276.
- Baillet, P. (1911) "Les présents de Saint Cyrille à la cour de Constantinople," *Bulletin d'oriental litterature et d'archéologie Justinienne*, 242–264.
- Bonino, R. (1968) *Ricerche di diritto giustiniano* (Milano: Giuffrè), 259–263.
- Camodeca, G. (1992) *L'Archivio patrimoniale di Sulpicio I Sapsa* (Jugovic).

¹ Cf. Gagos and van Minnen, *JPE*, n. part. 30–26. I have dealt with the problem on Tabarak, *SocSt* 377–401 with the literature cited therein.

² Schaller (1971), nos. 1–2, is the first to suggest that since ca. 524–530 C.E. as well as 600–700 C.E.

³ See for example settlements from the Achaïa in P. Oxy. 1110 and 1120; *P. Mich.* I, 1–8, 7, and IV, a new Egyptian dossier concerning a hereditary *P. KRI* 114–116; *P. Vindob.* 1392–1393, 1394–1395. For other examples see Tabarak 2007, 115–206–100.

⁴ Apart from our document, see *Stokvis* I, 1–2, *supra* mentioned concerning the same community: *MGH* 1, 898¹ and 898² (Syntheposidus, C.E. 667); *P. Ptol.* II, 52 (Stokvis 1933, 1–2, 390–391, 481 and *P. Lond.* V, 1753, Synthe, 210–215).

- Camodecca, G. (1992) *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpunorum: Edizione critica dell'archivio patrimoniale dei Sulpun* (Viterbo: *Ricerche di storia epigrafica, filologica* 12). Roma: Edizioni Quasar.
- Crum, W. E. and Riedel, W. (1964) *The Canon of Papyri of Alexandria: The Texts and Canon Versions* (Oxford).
- Gagos, J. and van Minnen, P. (1994) *Writing a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (New Texts from Ancient Egypt 13).
- Gascou, J. (1985) "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'Église en Égypte byzantine." *Travaux* 9, 499.
- Gaudemet, F. (1958) *L'Église, l'État l'Empire, 325-451*. Paris: Sirey.
- Groschke, P. (1997) *Die tabelläre Organisation der pompeianischen und herkulanensischen Rechtsgrundlagen*. *Freiburger Rechtsgeschichtliche Abhandlungen, Neue Folge* 263. Berlin: Decker & Humblot.
- Hobson, D. W. (1993) "The Impact of Law on Village Life in Roman Egypt" in Halpern, R. and Hobson, D. W., *Law, Politics and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 193-219.
- Kaser, M. (1978) *Römische Privatrecht II: Nachklassische Entwicklung*. Munich: C. H. Beck (Handbuch des Römischen Rechts 33.3.2).
- Kapiszewski, H. (1974) "Quelques remarques sur les vocables $\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\iota\alpha$, $\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha$, $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha$ dans le Digeste." *LLP* 18, 227-236. = *Acta et Monumenta*, Napoli 2000, 267-278.
- Kapiszewski, H. (1996) "Ämterreise und Nutzpfand in den Papyri" in *Acta Philologica Lovaniensia: Al. Koster, 100th Anniversary*. *Vestigia* 109, Graz, 133-140. = *Acta et Monumenta*, Napoli 2000, 473-489.
- Lebel, O. (1927) *Des Papyrus Papyriens*. Leipzig: H. J. Neumann (3 ed.).
- MacCall, L. S. H. (1991) "The Aga Apollon Monastery of Ptolemais (Aphroditon) and its Papyrus Archive." *J. J. A. S.* 106, 21-61.
- MacCall, L. S. H. (2000) "Translation and Commentary of P. Louf. 1.7" (pp. 211-236), in: Thomas, C. and Constantinides-Henry, A. eds., *Revue de Monastère Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Papyri and Testaments*. Washington (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 38), 51-58, online version: www.dumbarton-ox.org/texts.html.
- Marzà, R. (2001) *L'archivio degli Apollon Teophrastica e proporzionalità nell'Egitto tardoromana*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Mossmeyer, E. (2001) "Fiditio in membris di 28 anni e res controversum nell'era dei Severi." in *Acta et Monumenta: Studi in onore di Maria Tolmaceva*. Napoli, vol. 16, 33-42.
- Mossmeyer, E. (2004) "Pretore, giudice e protettore dei monaci di ventisei anni." *Fabro* 54, 64-83.
- Orestano, R. (1986) "Rei dei monaci e monasteri nella legislazione giustiniana." in *Studi in onore di Pietro de Francisci* III. Milano: Giuffrè, 561-592. = *Scritti*, III (n. 29, 1245-1275).

- Orestano, R. (1998). *Il "problema della persona giuridica" in diritto romano*. Torino: Giappichelli.
- Porter, B. (1996). *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*. Leiden-New York: Brill.
- Rouland, N. (1992). *Intestopolitica giuridica*. Milano: Giuffrè.
- Schiller, A. A. (1971). "Die Courts Are No More" in *Studi Volterra*, vol. I. Milano: Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di giurisprudenza dell'Università di Roma, 469-502.
- Sijpesteijn, P. J. (1991). "Ἐπίπρωτος ἢ καὶ ἑπομένως ποσὶν ἰσχυρῶς." Kaut von Lisseni gegen Vorauszahlung." *Festschrift*, 197-199.
- Simon, D. (1971). "Zur Zivilgerichtsbarkeit im spätbyzantinischen Ägypten." *Revue Internationale de Droit de l'Antiquité* 18, 624-657.
- Stemwenter, A. (1932). "Byzantinische Mönchstestamente." *Aegyptus* 12, 55-64.
- Stemwenter, A. (1936). "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri." *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 19, 1-50.
- Stemwenter, A. (1938). "Aus dem kirchlichen Verwögenrecht der Papyri." *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 44, 1-14.
- Urbank, I. (2001). review of Mazza (2001). *ILL* 34, 271-274.
- Urbank, I. (2007). "Esimptomeria o processo? Alternativa risoluzione dei conflitti e tutela dei diritti nella prassi della tarda antichità" in E. Cantarella, J. Melero-Madrizewski and G. Thun-Hofegg (eds.), *Symposium 2005: Beiträge zur griechischen und lateinischen Rechtsgeschichte*. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 377-400.
- Verbeke, K. (2003). "The Sulpici from Puteoli and Ostia." *Episthepe von Rechtsgeschichte* 31, 7-28.

Monks too could be owners of parts of the *gabai*. It was in the *gabai* that most of them built their homes and settled. Those who did so might foresee that other monks would be interested in finding in the same area a convenient place for practising asceticism.

Among the papyrological texts of our monastic dossier the clearest piece of evidence showing that monks needed to secure their right of ownership on the area of the *tabat* on which they lived, is P.KHC. 105 (end of the sixth century), relating to the monastery of Apa Phorbanmon, situated in Western Thebes, among the ruins of the temple of Eker el Bahari.

What I call described this document as being an "Anerkennung des Eigenumsrechtes des Pöhrhammon-Klosters." The village whose name must have been given in the lost first lines of the document, is certainly Jéme, for the persons and hundreds appearing here as guarantors also appear in other documents from Jéme. The representatives of the village, i.e. the presbyters and deacons here named and the *lathane*, confirm the right of the prior (whose name has disappeared in the lost part of the document) to dispose of the *kapost* at Apa-Pöhrhammon; he has the right to live in the *kapost*, to build and to pull down anything in it, to admit monks to it, to transmit it to his successor. If anybody dares to question the prior's right, they will not only incur divine chastisement, but also pay a fine of six ounces of gold. The prior, to whom the document is addressed, is the monk who founded the monastery on a ground that had formerly been desert. The document will be recognized as valid by any authority. There follows the formula: "We, the whole village, represented by the *schaffpöhrten* presbyters and by Papute the *conventual lathane*, agree with this deed." The number of the witnesses—both clerics and laymen—is considerable.

At first sight the document might seem strange: is the village really entitled to take decisions in matters concerning the monastery? Considering on this text, A. Nienwenter was concerned to notice the intervention of a lay authority and the fact that there is no mention of a decision taken by the bishop, who according to him was the only authority entitled to consent to the foundation of a monastery. Nienwenter did not cite any legal rule, but had doubts as to the Canon 4 of the Council of Chalcedon. W. Gieddewick, who discussed *P. A. 118* in his study on the monastery of Apa Phothonion,⁴ maintained that there was no reason to be concerned about this: the monastery of Apa

[illegible]

Sugarcane and banana in France are not known to be affected by the disease. The affected plants do not show symptoms so ruling out genetic inheritance. We therefore suggest that the virus is a new parasite that is probably spread by an insect or another invertebrate. The first step in the investigation would be to sample sugarcane and banana in the area and to determine whether any of the plants are infected.

"Wir haben ganz tolle Leute gefunden, die sich mit dem Thema beschäftigen. Es ist eine tolle Gelegenheit, auch andere Leute mit der Sache bekannt zu machen."

Here let us consider the graphs of the functions $y = \log_2 x$, $y = \log_3 x$, and of the logarithm, and then the suprema of the values.

$$L_{11}(u) \mid \mathcal{F}_{11}(u) \sim \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{u} \otimes \mathcal{N}(-1, 1) + \frac{1}{u} \otimes \mathcal{N}(1, 1) \right) \otimes \mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma^2)$$

Aptō at Dier el Bahari – be argued – is likely to have been a continuation of a small monastery of the same name, which had existed in a desert wadi and had been abandoned, probably because of the danger of falling stones.¹ If this was the case, the foundation of this monastic community had already been accepted before by the bishop. I am convinced that both Stangwender and Urońkowski were wrong in thinking that Egyptian monks are obliged to comply with the rule formulated by the aforesaid canon and later repeated by Justinian's legislation. The fact that a canon was voted by a council of bishops or that a constitution was promulgated by an emperor does not mean that the given rule came immediately into force in the whole empire. Canon law was a set of rules valid in the whole church but not yet existing. There was no authority that could force upon the whole Church compliance with rules formulated by councils or emperors. There still remained something of the diversity and institutional liberty that had characterised the old Church up to the fourth century. The ecclesiastical hierarchy could ignore them and keep the local custom. If such systems did not give rise to conflicts, Egyptian monks, who lived in various and loose structures, do not seem to have bothered very much about legal rules. Local custom in Egypt did not give to bishops many opportunities of interfering with internal matters of the monastic communities. If no scandalous conflict arose, even the choice of a prior did not necessitate an official pronouncement of the bishop. Of course the monks talked with the bishop when they wanted to found a new community as well as when they had to choose a new prior; however, they did so in an informal manner and this gave them the possibility of doing as they liked, if the bishop was not enthusiastic about their project but had no reason for opposing it by a formal prohibition.

The village gave to the monastic community an area of the desert that was, thanks to the ruins of the temple, particularly convenient for building a monastery. It was the village, not the bishop, who decided to give the land. The decision was taken at the beginning of the existence of the monastic community. I quite agree with W. Urońkowski that P. A. R. 105 must be dated to the end of the sixth century, a time when the area was empty.² The village's consent given to the founder of the monastery, together with his own financial contribution towards the building of it, was the basis of his right of ownership on the area.

It was probably about the same time that the semi-eremitical community that we call the *lavra* of Iphimios (though Iphimios was not its founder – he inherited it from a monk who had previously been its chief) was allowed to occupy a plot of ground in the *gabal*.³ This community settled on the western slope of the rocky amphitheatre closed on the North by the ruins of the temple of Dier el Bahari. The nucleus of the *lavra* was in the Ptolemaic temple of Daga.

We fortunately possess a substantial dossier concerning this *lavra* and consisting of documents, private letters, lists of payments, etc. From my point of view the most interesting piece is P. A. R. 73, a will made about the middle of the seventh century by two monks, Jacob and Elias, the owners of the *lavra*. The document mentions the former owners and their decisions. Elias had received the monastery from Psau, a disciple of Iphimios; Iphimios himself had been the second chief of the monastery; we know that he had inherited it. Psau had entrusted the monastery to Jacob, but later on he had drawn up a second document which took account not only of Jacob, but also of a new member of the community, Elias. Elias had the right to stay in the monastery up to the end of his life. In P. A. R. 75 Jacob and Elias appear jointly as owners. They bequeath the monastery to a monk named Stephen. Stephen will inherit not only the dwelling-places with all their effects, but also a surprisingly vast area

¹ E. Bataillon, 1902, *op. cit.* 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906.

² E. Bataillon, 1902, *op. cit.* 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906.

³ E. Bataillon, 1902, *op. cit.* 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906.

of desert land surrounding the dwellings. The property bequeathed is not defined by the name of the *laura*, nor by a description of its buildings, but by a description of the boundaries of the area. This is so precise that H. E. Winlock was able to draw the boundaries on a map.

The foundation of the *laura* must have been preceded by an agreement with the authorities of Jéme as to the extent of the slope that had to be destined to the *laura*. On that area nobody would have the right to build a hermitage without the permission of the monk leading the monastic community. The chief of this community acted as if that area were his private property.

2. DEEDS OF SALE OF MONASTIC DWELLINGS

I am now going to deal with two sets of documents, *P. Dhut.* 32-34 and five Coptic documents from the British Library. Others have commented on them before me. However, I think I can contribute something new towards their interpretation.

The three documents *P. Dhut.* 32-34¹ were found together near the Hawara pyramid, we do not know exactly where – among the ruins of a building of the Byzantine period² or in a small church³ or in a room adjacent to it⁴ – but in any case at the very place where somebody, who obviously was interested in them, had hidden them at the beginning of the sixth century. They were contained in a jar buried in the soil, each of them was carefully rolled up, and the whole was wrapped up with belts of reed and protected with a piece of linen and finally with a piece of wooden cloth. These details are important, for they witness that the three documents go together and form a whole, at least in that sense that the monk who hid them did not possess any other document relating to the same matter. It is unfortunate that Hinderer Petrie did not give information about the archaeological context of the finding.⁵ I inspected the surroundings of the Hawara pyramid, but I was not able to find out anything useful in this respect.

The problem of the localization of Labla deserves some attention. One is naturally inclined to think that Labla should be identified with the ruins of a small *laura* found at the foot of the Hawara pyramid. This is what J. Gascou⁶ and others (including myself) have thought. However, this is not quite sure, for we do not know exactly where the papyri were found. If we assume that they were buried inside one of the hermitages, the identification of Labla with Hawara goes without saying. If we assume that they were buried inside the church, the situation is not so simple, for everybody had access to the church. Anyway, if Labla is not to be identified with Hawara, it was situated very near Hawara, in the

¹ The problem of who owned the disposition of a *laura* was also contained in monastic communities in Egypt. In the title of Saint Athanasius by Cyrilus of Scythopolis there appear some chapters analogous to those which we have observed in *P. Dhut.* 103. To what extent has the founder of a *laura* the right of disposing about it, and what are the rights of the other monks? For this case, see Lefort 2007.

² I have aside a document which might or might not be connected with the sale of a monastic dwelling (BL. Ms. Or. 4917218) of the year 586/587, here purchased by a *laura* monk (BL. 4917218) applying to the bishop of Hermopolis.

³ *P. Dhut.* 32 and 33, first published by Noye, were republished by Noye 1974 and 1975, they have been and still are often cited by reference to this reprint. H. C. M. Meyers published a third document as the original to the same dossier, he published the three documents together in Meyers 1980, 67-74. Meyers's paper contains an extensive commentary, which has not been repeated in *P. Dhut.* I should therefore be read together with the text of the new edition.

⁴ Hinderer Petrie 1989, 21, pl. VIII.

⁵ Lefort 1980.

⁶ Lefort 1980.

"monastic desert." From the point of view of my argument this does not matter very much.¹ Why were our papyrus burned? I have no idea.

It is clear from these texts that the monks appearing in a deed of sale and in a *hypothekē* document live (or used to live) in a very loosely structured monastic ensemble (or in a gathering of independent hermitages) called *Labla* and situated in the *pagos* of Arsinoë in the Fayum. *Paphnagion* means "suburb," but a place designated by this word was not necessarily very near to a town.

Let us look first at the deeds of sale *P.DubI* 32 of 7 September 512 and *P.DubI* 33 of 9 July 513. One and the same person, the monk Eulogios son of Joseph, sells twice (one and the same hermitage, i.e. one and the same monastic dwelling; the description of the boundaries does not allow any doubt). He lives at the time in another hermitage, in the community of Mikron Pagon, which must have been not far away, being situated in the *pagos* of Arsinoë. The purchasers are, in the deed *P.DubI* 32, Pousi son of Ak[...], living at *Labla*, and in the deed *P.DubI* 33, Paphnagios son of Isaac and Ioulus son of Anathlios, who also live at *Labla*. The deeds cede the rights of the purchasers according to normal standards, without any qualification. The price is *solidi* which in the case of *P.DubI* 32, 10 *solidi* in that of *P.DubI* 33 (H. C. M. Mettong thinks that in both deeds the sale is a legal fiction, performing the function of guaranty of a loan, for there is no evidence that in the interval between 7 September 512 and 9 July 513 Eulogios bought back the hermitage. We must ask, once Eulogios, at the time when the first deed was written, did not live any longer in this hermitage, who lived in it? Of course, the fictitious sale did not mean that the purchasers, who had their own hermitages in *Labla*, moved into the hermitage; on the other hand, it is unlikely that a dwelling worth 8 *solidi* was empty. The question cannot be answered).

The third document contained in the jar, *P.DubI* 34, is one year older than *P.DubI* 32: it bears the date 24 August 511. It is an agreement between two monks living in a hermitage at *Labla*; nothing is said of the location of the hermitage, which is unfortunate, for such a piece of information would have been far as the best means of establishing whether this is the same hermitage as that of the other two documents. The owner of the hermitage, Anathlios son of Anathlios, promises to Eulogios son of Pousi that after his death the hermitage will become Eulogios' property; he also declares that he annuls his former written decision by which he had destined it to Isaac son of Sabmos. Moreover, the document contains the following clause: "Anathlios will not have the right of introducing into the hermitage any other monk or any man of the world" (we do not know what sort of man is meant: a disciple wishing to become a monk? or a servant?); without Eulogios' consent, if he does introduce somebody, Eulogios will immediately become the owner of the hermitage. This will also happen if Anathlios leaves the hermitage (nothing is said of the possible reasons of such a departure). Eulogios commits himself to not expelling Anathlios as long as he lives. The last clause is curious: after all, Anathlios was the owner!

¹Walter Pöhlmann has commented on my passage of the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Inge Lysterboeren *Hermitage in the Roman Empire: The case of Egypt* (Leuven, 1998), published by the University of Leuven, 2000. I take the liberty of quoting it. In my commentary on the papyrus I suggested that *Labla* in the Ptolemaic archive discovered by Petrie on the island of Monastir was monks' *pagos* (i.e. *pagos* at *Labla*); *P.DubI* 32, 34. The final place of the monastic archive confirms my interpretation of *Labla* as monks' *pagos* (see also the note on the location of Arsinoë in the text of *P.DubI* 51). It indicates that *Labla* was situated in the desert, not in a village or in a town, or in a group of small villages, with independent cells that were part of a larger monastic community, but in a desert, probably isolated and almost isolated.

I do not know why H. C. M. Mettong considers Mikron Pagon to be the name of a hermitage or of a group of hermitages neighbouring with the one that is designated by the present *pagos* of Arsinoë. It is does not result from the text.

The name of Anoulhos' father, Aranthios, is very rare. This makes it likely that this Anoulhos is identical with the founder of *P.Dabf* 33. Anoulhos and Loulios are not two names, but one name under two forms. This in turn suggests that the Eulogios to whom Anoulhos/Loulhos wants to pass on his hermitage is identical with the Eulogios of the other two documents (though Eulogios is a frequent name), and that the three documents refer to one hermitage. The trouble is that in *P.Dabf* 34 Eulogios is said to be son of Pous, not of Joseph, as in the two deeds of sale *P.Dabf* 32 and 33. This is a strong argument against the identification. However, if we assume that this Eulogios is another person, the fact that *P.Dabf* 34 was packed up together with *P.Dabf* 32 and 33 becomes understandable. We need a hypothesis accounting for each of the three documents and for their having been put together.

I think that in all three documents we have to do with one and the same Eulogios. It is possible that the scribe made a mistake in writing the name of Eulogios' father, but it is more likely that Eulogios' father had two names, Joseph and Pous; analogous cases occur frequently in papyri. If Eulogios is the same monk, the hermitage is also one and the same monastic dwelling. Under circumstances unknown to us Eulogios must have got the ownership of the hermitage from Loulios, though the latter was still alive. Loulios might perhaps have decided – for reasons escaping our knowledge – to leave his hermitage, turning it over to Eulogios. In any case he stayed in Labta. On the other hand Eulogios left Labta between August 511 and September 512 and settled at Nekrou Pesson, after which he performed a fictitious sale to Pous, for 8 nomoi of the hermitage in Labta in which he was no longer living. In July 513 he sold the same hermitage, this time really, not fictitiously, to Loulios son of Aranthios and to Papioutchos son of Isaac for 10 nomoi. It was Loulios, I think, who wrapped up, put into a jar and buried the three documents. At least one document was lacking when he did so, namely a document attesting that the ownership of the hermitage had passed from Loulios to Eulogios, which it was lacking, we cannot guess.

The hypothesis I propose seems to me to have the merit of explaining why *P.Dabf* 34 was put together with the two deeds of sale – a fact that Metzger could not explain.

P.Dabf 33 and 34 prove that monks who were more or less equal in respect of their monastic status could live in one and the same hermitage. When studying the results of the excavations of the monastic centres of Kellia, Isha or Saqlin, we take it for granted that each hermitage was usually inhabited by a monk (the "teacher," the "old man") and his disciple, or disciples. However, the documents under discussion show that a hermitage could be inhabited by two monks of equal status. Of course one of the two might have stood higher on the ladder of monastic prestige; he might have been practising asceticism for a longer time, he might have built or furnished the hermitage and be its exclusive owner, etc.; but the relationships between the two were based on a substantial equality.

If we now turn to the literary dossier of Egyptian monasticism having in mind the lesson of *P.Dabf* 33 and 34, we shall easily find confirmation of this. A passage of the Arabic Life of John of Sokhos (from the eighth or the seventh century) is particularly clear:

"Il nous disait encore: 'Vous savez mes enfants, que je n'ai jamais fait vouloir un frère qui se trouvait dans ma cellule, ni ne l'ai mis dehors, plus même que je n'aie eu besoin de lui; je n'ai jamais commis cette faute devant le Seigneur. Pour votre part, faites de même. Si vous êtes nombreux, habitez dans une seule cellule et n'irritez pas une âme égarée, celle persécutée comme le font ceux qui rejettent les autres, qui ont des pensées terrestres et qui prétendent la subtilité.'"

¹ La Vie de saint Jean, in *opuscules de Socrate*, XI, 340c – in Zetter, 1969, I, p. 25, Zetter's translation, p. 354.

It is worthwhile to quote a passage belonging to the collection of apophthegms of Daniel.¹²

"Abba Daniel again narrated: 'When Abba Arsenios was at Sketis, there was there a monk who was in the habit of stealing things belonging to the elders. And Abba Arsenios took him to his own cell in order to gain him and to procure peace to the elders. And he told him: 'If you want something, I shall give it to you, but do not steal.' The story then tells that Arsenios' generous action did not have effect: the monk who was in the habit of stealing went on stealing, so that it was necessary to expel him from 'the desert'. From this apophthegm it appears that a hermitage – normally, of course, of a monk who was well-to-do – could be spacious enough for its owner to be able to introduce into it another monk who would pray and work without disturbing him.

Monks whom the monastic tradition did not expose to absolute obedience and who lived together in one hermitage needed a high degree of self-discipline and tact to avoid small conflicts that might make life miserable for them. In the *Logos of Isaiah* there are plenty of instructions on this subject. They arouse our admiration by their subtlety.

A group of five Coptic texts found in Bawit and dated more than two hundred years later than the *P Dhut* I have just discussed, furnishes unambiguous evidence of the phenomenon I am discussing – the sale of monastic dwellings. These texts are deeds of sale of a hermitage, judging by the description of its location, they all refer to one and the same dwelling-house, situated inside the monastic village which was, as we all know, a cenobitic monastery.

In the year 851 Joseph, the archimandrite of the monastery of Apa Apollis, and his brother Mark sell a hermitage to Makare and his sons at the price of 3 *solidi* (no. 2041). This sum is to be paid not to the sellers, but to the *dhakama*, i.e. to the service of the monastery managing its economic affairs. In spite of this we can be sure that the archimandrite does not act as a representative of the monastery, but as the owner of the dwelling, for we learn that he bought it some time before from a monk who is no longer alive. A clause states that if the purchaser die the hermitage will return to the *dhakama*. However, nine years later Makare and his sons sell it at the price of 3 *solidi* to Paul and his brother Peter (no. 2041). In this deed there is no clause concerning the *dhakama*'s rights in the case of the death of the purchasers, but the omission is certainly fortuitous, for in the following deed, written five years later and by which a group of monks buy the hermitage for 2 *solidi* (no. 2058), the clause is there. These monks sell it two years later at the same price (no. 2021).

This set of documents is rather curious. It is surprising to see that during seventeen years the hermitage changed hands four times, though there is no mention of an owner having died. I am inclined to think that the successive purchasers appearing in these deeds bought the hermitage not in order to live in it, but in order to let it to new monks of the monastery. This does not seem unlikely, since we have to do with a big monastery, where there was probably a considerable movement going on.

¹² Quignepain, 2003, 78-79, n. 25. (Dp. 6, 136B).

¹³ *Abba Isidore, Phronesis*, 1883, 1883.

The documents were first used by M. Kravtsov in unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Памятники древне-коптского права*. Their Arabic translation (1972-1978, 1978) were published by L. Matrouk, 1974, 14-178, with place the curriculum is written. The dossier preserved in the library consists of five pieces, the two of them: 491 Mk. Or. 6701 and 6702 – the oldest; the other one (the two) was written by Isaac, the father of the other 491 Mk. Or. 6701 and published only the younger one.

In all these documents there appear monks who are related to each other: brothers or father and sons. This is also curious, though not without parallel. Analogous situations are attested elsewhere, mostly in literary texts, rarely in documents. It is a pity that nobody has ever studied this aspect of Egyptian monasticism. What is surprising is the fact that two or more monks related to each other live in one and the same monastery, in spite of the rule according to which a man wanting to abandon "the world" and practise asceticism ought to cut all ties with his family.

This document from Hawtā proves that monastic dwellings were goods that could be sold and bought, though they were not an object of free trade, since they could not be acquired by people not belonging to the monastery. It witnesses moreover that an atmosphere of formalistic pedantry which we have already observed: the monks' concern about the possibility of comparisons that would cause them to forfeit a hermitage in which they have invested money; the monks' need of gathering evidence that might be useful in case of complications. It is not enough for them to make a contract in the presence of the prior and of witnesses: they want to have a notarial document. Other texts from Hawtā, published by Sarah Jackson, show an analogous phenomenon: the regulation of relationships inside a monastery by means of documents.

M. Krause maintained that the selling and buying of monastic dwellings was a consequence of economic difficulties due to the fiscal pressure exerted by the Arabs. However, in the years 511-513, when our *P' Dhūl* were written, the monastic movement was flourishing: simple communities might have had difficulties from time to time, but monks as a social category enjoyed prestige and had a privileged position when it came to calculating the fiscal burdens. The phenomenon asks for a different explanation, outside of economy.

¹ I studied this phenomenon in Wągrowku 2007.

Bibliography

- Apophthegmes* (2003) *Les Apophthegmes des pères*. Collection systématique, vol. II, Chapitres A-A17. Introduction, texte critique, traduction par J.-C. Guy, s.j. (SC 74). Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Bachaty, J. (1982) *Le monastère de Phébarammon dans la Thébaine*. Cairo: Publications de la Société d'archéologie égypte.
- Hinders, Petrus, P. (1889) *Historia Monachorum et Monasteriorum*. London.
- Hugan, H. (2007) "Saint Sabas, un leader monastique à l'autorité contestée," in: Camplang, A. and Fodorano, G., *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late Antique Monasteries*. Louvain: Peeters, 193-216.
- Giassou, J. (1990) "Sabla Labla," *CDR* 65, 111-115.
- Giassou, J. (1997) "Les *apophthegmes*," *RFGE* 110, 285-294.
- Grodzicki, W. (1988) *Le monastère de St. Phébarammon*. Warsaw, 63-65.
- Isate. *Revue d'ascétique* (1988). Abbe Isate, *Revue d'ascétique*. Introduction par Dom J. Regnaud, osh et traduction française par Dom H. de Hro. osh. Troisième édition revue et augmentée. Abbaye de Hellenfontaine.
- Krause, M. (1981) "Zwei Phébarammon-Klöster in Theben-West," *Mt+Jk* 37, 156-160.
- McGoull, L. (1994) "The Hawet Contracts: Texts and Translations," *RFMP* 31, 141-156.
- McGoull, L. C. M. (1990) "Meitran Monks at Labla," *Zeitschrift* 8, 67-94.
- Richter, L. S. (1990) "Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet: HM (OR 4917) (15) und P. Med Coplous 19466," *JkP* 29, 265-286.
- Stenqvist, A. (1935) "Zur Edition der koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Djeme," *Orientalia* N. S. 4, 177-185.
- Till, W. C. (1984) *The koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben*. Wien.
- Wipszycka, L. (2004) "Le fonctionnement interne des monastères et des laïques en Égypte du point de vue économique," *JkP* 31, 169-186.
- Zambelli, L. (1996) "La Vie de saint Jean, higoumène de Scété au VII^e siècle," *AnBoll* 114, 273-405.

INDICES TO COPTIC, GREEK, AND ARABIC TEXTS

INDEX

This consolidated index covers only the Greek, Coptic and Arabic (no transliteration) terms appearing in the text editions, arranged according to the Greek-Coptic alphabet. *Phylactor* 38 has been omitted as this is an alphabetical list of Coptic words.

1. PERSONAL NAMES

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|------------|------------|
| ʿAbd al-Malik | 45.1 | ΚΥΡΑΚΑΝ | 44.18 |
| Abūmārius | 46.1 | ΚΥΡΟΣ | 4.7 |
| ΑΒΡΑΧΑΜ | 46.2 | ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 41.5.1 |
| Avōignos | 48.9 | ΜΑΡΚΟΣ | 40.7 |
| Agō Kīn | 11.1.2, 12.2, 13.1 | ΜΗΝΑ | 39.8 |
| ΑΓΩΛΙΟ | 48.3, 48.5 | ΝΑΡΑ | 40.7 |
| ΑΠΟΧΑΝΩ | 7.5, 47.1 | ΜΗΤΡΩ | 40.1 |
| Apōis | 50.2 | ΜΟΝΟΝΙΩ | 30.2, 30.3 |
| Biktor | 14.1, 36.4, 37.4, 39.4 | ΝΕΥΡΩ | 8.1 |
| Evōgrios | 46.1.1, 46.5 | ΝΙΤΡΩ | 6.5 |
| Evōgri | 37.1 | ΟΙΚ | 40.8 |
| Evōgrius | 49.2 | ΠΑΥΛΟΣ | 36.3 |
| ΓΑΒΡΙΕΛ / Gavry | 1.4, 8.3, 15.1 | ΠΡΩΤΩ | 40.11 |
| Zavgrios | 46.3 | ΣΑΥΡ | 36.1 |
| Πετρίος | ʿIoumēt 9 | ΣΑΥΡΩΤΑΙΩΝ | 44.18 |
| Θεόδωρος | 46.2 | ΣΑΥΡ | 45.13 |
| Threksios | 49.1 | ΣΤ | 47.1 |
| ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ | 45.14, 47.3b | ΤΑΥΡΩ | 16.2 |
| Ιωάννης | 46.5 | ΦΙ | 37.3 |
| Ιωάνη | 40.6 | ΥΑΒΛ | 45.11 |
| Ιωάνη | 45.5 | ΥΑΙΔ | 45.3 |
| Ιωάννης | 36.5, 46.1, 48.1.4 | ΥΑΙΔΙΩ | 45.4 |
| ΙΩΝΑΝ | 10.6 | ΖΕΥΔ | 45.3 |
| ΙΩΝΑΝΝΟΣ | 45.14 | | |
| Isidōr | 45.3 | | |

2. PLACE NAMES

| | | | |
|----------------|--|--------|------------------------|
| ʿAlā Ashmūd | 45.5 | ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 33.2 |
| Dayr Abī Abūlā | 45.5 | ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 26.1, 27.2, 28.2, 29.2 |
| ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 19.2, 20.2, 21.3,
22.2, 31.1, 33.2, 24.3,
25.3 | ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 30.2, 31.1, 32.1 |
| | | ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 5.2, 6.3 |
| | | ΕΒΕΚΑΡ | 1.2 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| ΓΑΒΚΒ | 18.3 | | 28.4, 29.4, 30.3, |
| ΓΑΒ | 19.3, 20.3, 24.4 | | 31.2, 32.2, 33.3 |
| | 22.4, 23.3, 24.4 | αὐτοῦ/της | 1.1; 2.2, 4, 3.1; 5.1, |
| | 25.4, 26.3, 27.4, | | 6.2; 7.2, 8.1, 9.2; |
| | | | 10.2 |
| D. WAKES | | | |
| αἰῶνας | | | 19.4, 20.4; 23.5; |
| ΑΡΑΚΒ | 2.4 | | 22.5, 23.4, 24.5, |
| κριθῆ | 24.8 | | 25.5, 26.4, 27.6, |
| ΕΛΑΥΛΑΠ | 17.4 | | 28.6, 29.6, 30.4 |
| εἶς | 44.13 | | 31.3, 32.4, 33.4, 47.6 |
| οἶκος παλαιός | 16.3 | εὐχρη | 1.2, 2.3, 4.3, 5.2, 6.3, |
| οἶκος | 1.3, 5, 2.3, 7, 4.6, 5.3; | | 7.3, 9.2, 10.2 |
| | 6.4, 6, 7.4, 6.7, 8.4, | φωτισ | 49.2, 3 |
| | 10.4, 15.3, 18.3 | παρ | 44, 26 |
| E. EVANS | | | |
| ανδριπτοῖς | 36.2, 37.2 | pryat sa'ska | 45.3 |
| αὐτοῦ/της | 45.16 | | |
| μεγα | 45.9 | | |
| F. GUTHRIE | | | |
| αριθμῶν | 36.3, 37.3, 39.2, | νομήσει | 36.2, 45.16, 46.2, |
| | 46.2, 47.6 | | 48.1-11; 48v.1-4 |
| αἰμασυν | 45.6 | δοῦ-σιν αὐτοῦ/της | 47.6 |
| ἐκτερέσει | 50.1 | τοῦ ΑΒΚ | 47.4 |
| G. VANDERSCHEIJN AND J. VERSTIGER | | | |
| ΑΓΑΑΑΑ | 44.7 | | 27.4, 28.4, 29.4, |
| αἶψ | 45.5 | | 30.3, 31.2, 32.2, 33.3 |
| ἰπποῦ/της | | αἰῶνα ἰαῦῶν/της | 45.5 |
| ΑΒΑΒ | 18.3, 19.3, 20.3, | αἰῶνα | 18.4 |
| | 21.4, 22.4, 23.3, | | |
| | 24.4, 25.4, 26.2, | wa-tinēq'i | 45.10 |
| | | ya-tinī | 45.11 |

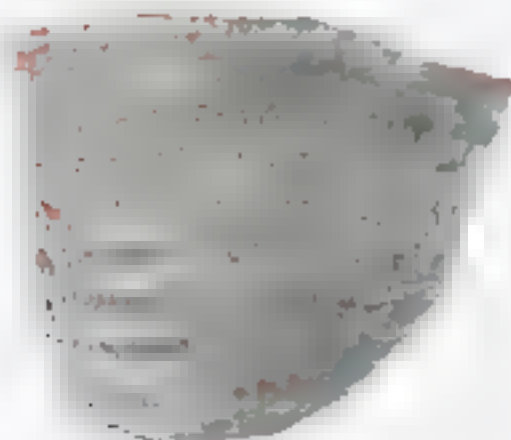
| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| βρήθριον γενεῶν | Fournet 3 | μῶνα | 46.3 |
| βούλῃα | | μολύνει | |
| βογγαλα | 45.18 | μολύσσει | 28.2, 19.5, 20.5, |
| ἰβουλλίζεναι | | | 31.6, 22.6, 23.5, |
| βογγαίζει | 45.18 | | 24.6, 25.6, 28.7, |
| | | | 30.5, 31.4, 32.5, 33.5 |
| διδάσκει | | ἰσχυρόμηναι | |
| lā-dīa' | 45.6 | παράθεσθαι | 18.5.6 |
| lā-ladīa' | 45.7 | ἰσχυρόσιν | |
| an-yadīa-dīa' | 45.10 | ἰσχυράσθαι | 45.22 |
| lā-ladīa'-anīa' | 45.10 | ἰσχυρῶν | 44.3 |
| ἐχθροί | 3.5 | ἰσχυροί | |
| ἐχθροί | 4.7, 36.3, 37.3, 38.2, | ἰσχυροί | 10.5 |
| | 39.3 | μαρτυροῦμαι | 45.6, 8 |
| ἐντέγγιον | | μαρτυροῦν | 36.4, 36.5 (ισχυροί) |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.18, 20 | | 37.3, 37.4 (ισχυροί), |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.22 | | 38.3, 39.4, 5; 46.3 |
| ἐντέγγιον | | ἰσχυροί | 45.7 |
| ἐντέγγιον | 44.8 | ἰσχυροί | 44.22 |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.7 | ἰσχυροί | 1.7; 5.4; 6.8; 7.8; 8.5, |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.16 | ἰσχυροί | 10.5 (ισχυροί), 11.1; |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.17 | ἰσχυροί | 12.1, 13.1; 14.1, |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.7 | ἰσχυροί | 15.1; 16.5 |
| ἐντέγγιον | 45.3 | | |

Index

| | |
|-------------|--|
| - (artabes) | 1.3, 5.3, 6.4, 6; 18.3, 19.4, 20.4, 21.5, 22.5, 23.4, 24.5, 25.5, 26.4, 27.6, |
| | 28.6, 29.6, 30.4, 31.5, 32.4, 33.4 |
| ἰσχυροί | 1.5, 2.3, 5, 47.6 |

PLATES

PLATE I



1

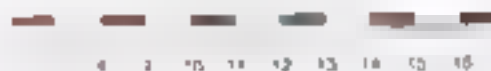
SBKopt. I 226 = Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 993



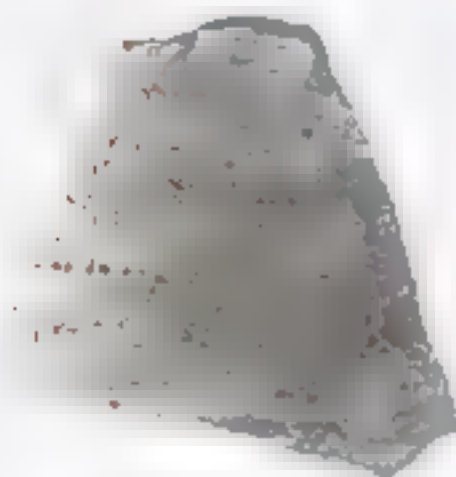
2

SBKopt. I 234 = Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 998

PLATE II



0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20



3

Strukt. 1.254 - Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 994



4

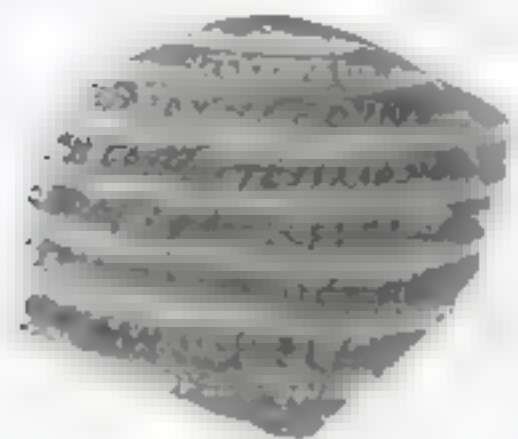
Strukt. 1.254 - Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 997

PLATE III



5

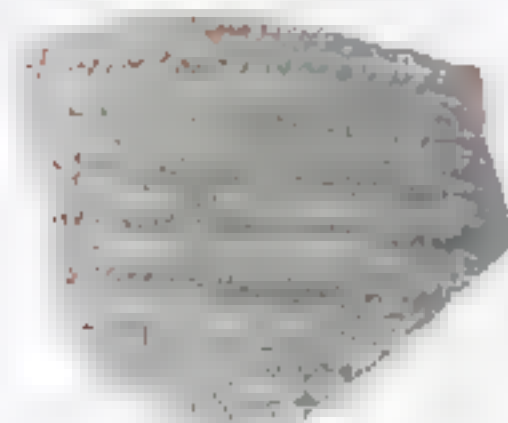
SBKopt. 1227 = Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 0906



6

SBKopt. 1228 = Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 0909

PLATE IV



7

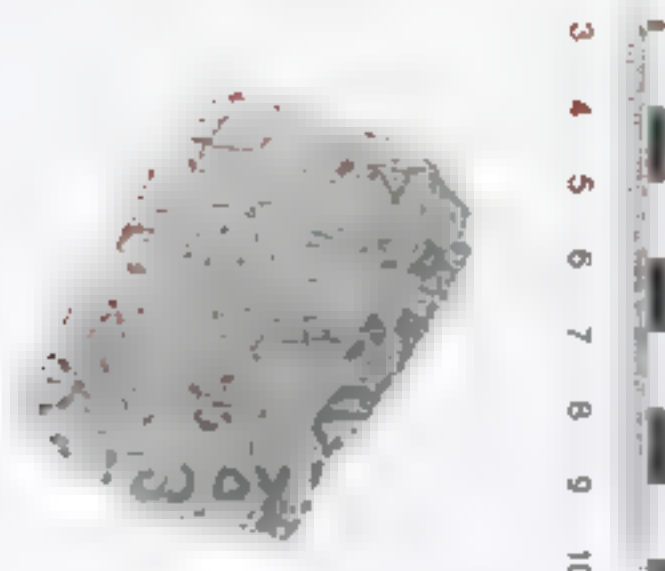
SBKopt. I 279 = Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 979



8

SBKopt. I 231 = Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 986

PLATE V



9

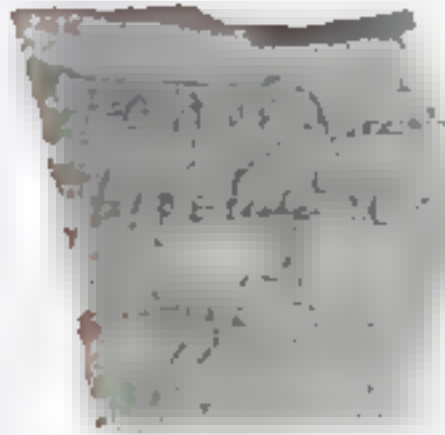
Abkopt 1252 Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 981



10

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 995

PLATE VI



11

SB XVIII 13561 - Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 984

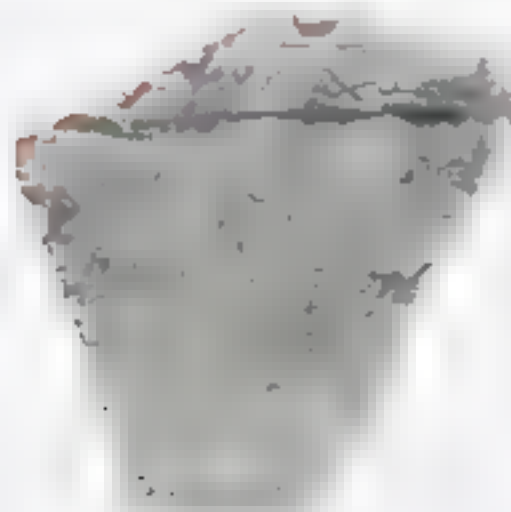


12

SB XVIII 13562 - Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 992

PLATE VII

5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13



13

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 988

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



14

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 991

PLATE VIII



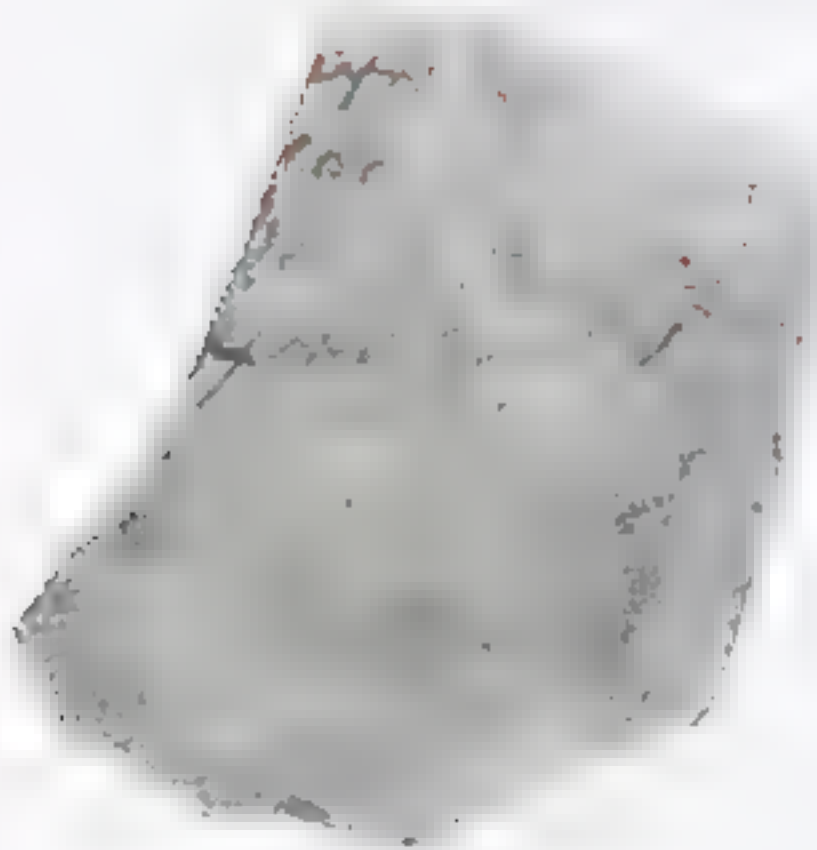
15

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 9901



16

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 9902

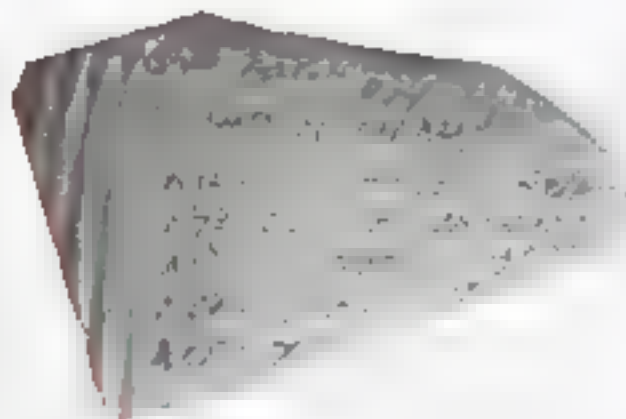


17

Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg inv. 992

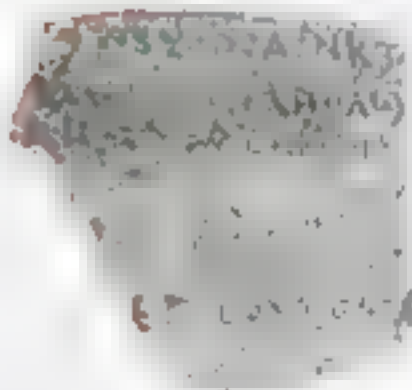
Crédits photographiques: Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg

PLATE X



18

O. Br. Mus. inv. GR. 100016. 294
(Photo: Charles Fike, 1961)



19

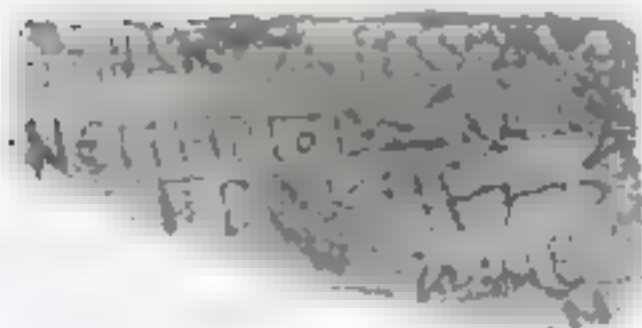
O. Berl. inv. 14705
Ägyptisches Museum in Papyrussammlung SMR
(Photo: Margarete Busong)

PLATE III



25

Mittagpr. I 151 = Kelsey Mus. inv. 25009
 Courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology



26

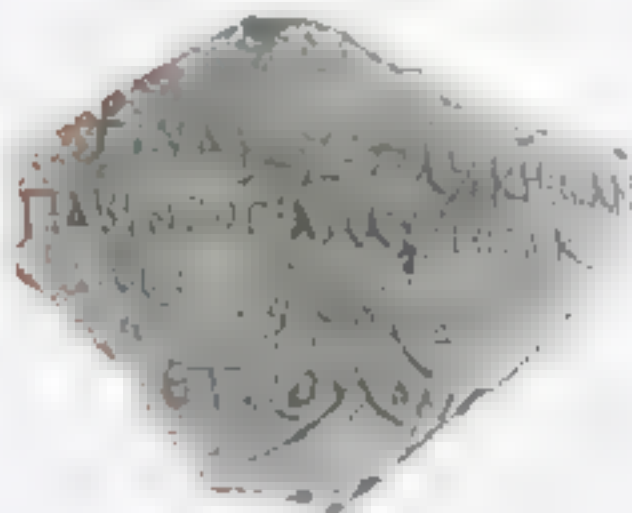
O.Berol. inv. 14706
 Ägyptisches Museum, Papyrussammlung SMB
 (Photo: Margarete Busing)

PLATE XII



29

Strakonice 1167 = Kelsey Mus. inv. 25028
 Courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology



31

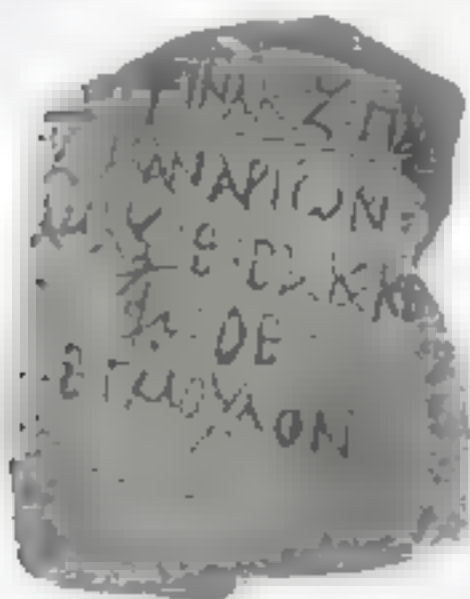
O Berol. inv. 14713
 Ägyptisches Museum u. Papyrussammlung SMH
 (Photo: Margarete Busing)

PLATE XIII



32

SBKopt 1185 = Kelsey Mus. inv. 25041
Courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

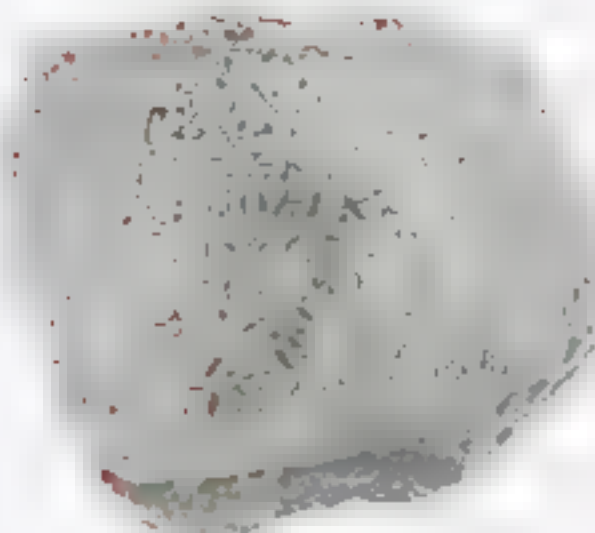


33

O. IFAO

Reproduit avec l'autorisation de l'IFAO

PLATE XIV

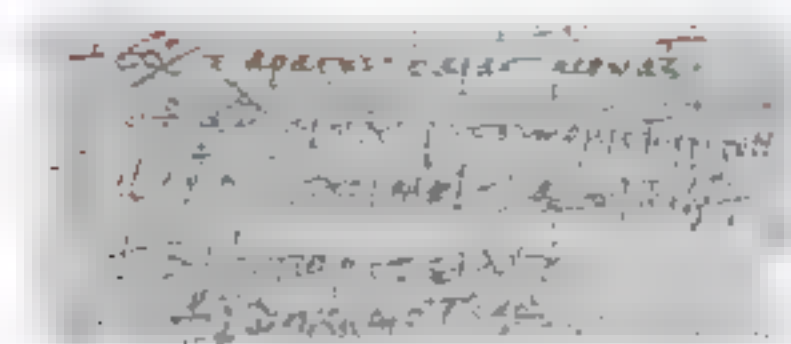


34

Kelsey Museum inv. 25124

Courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

PLATE XV



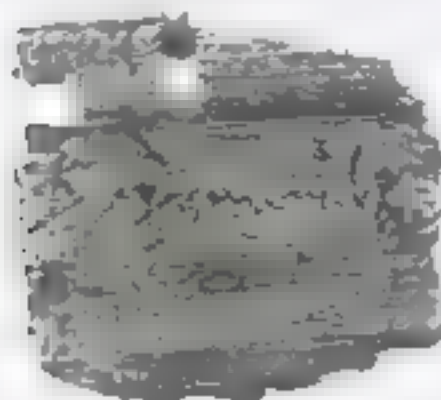
36

P. Heid. inv. K. 408 v.



37

P. CIBR. inv. 1841 v.



38

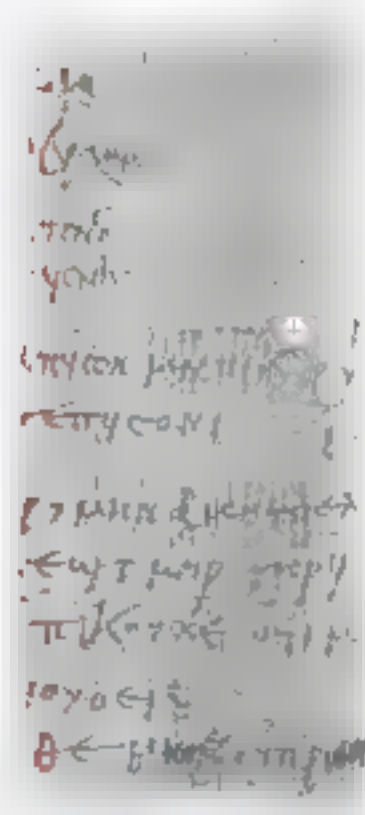
P. Heid. inv. E. 9483 v.

PLATE XVI



39

PCYBR inv. IX43 v



40

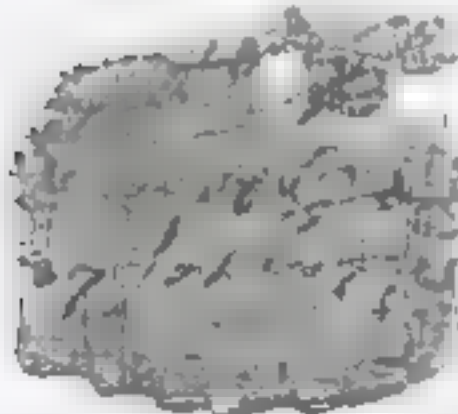
PHend inv. K. 308 r

PLATE XVII



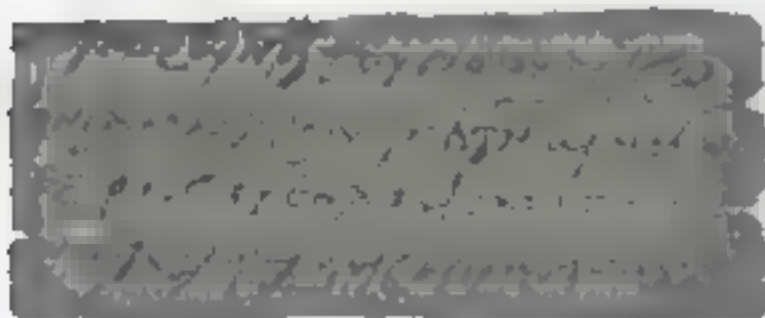
41

PCIYBR inv. 1841 r.



42

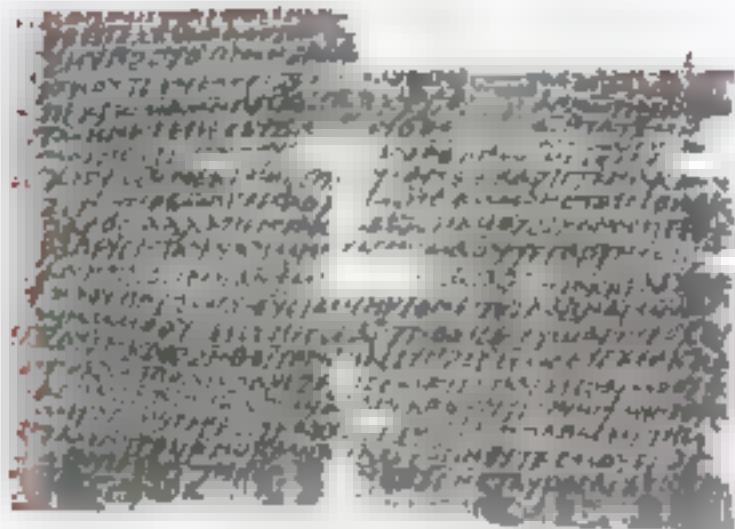
EBrox inv. F. 9483 r.



43

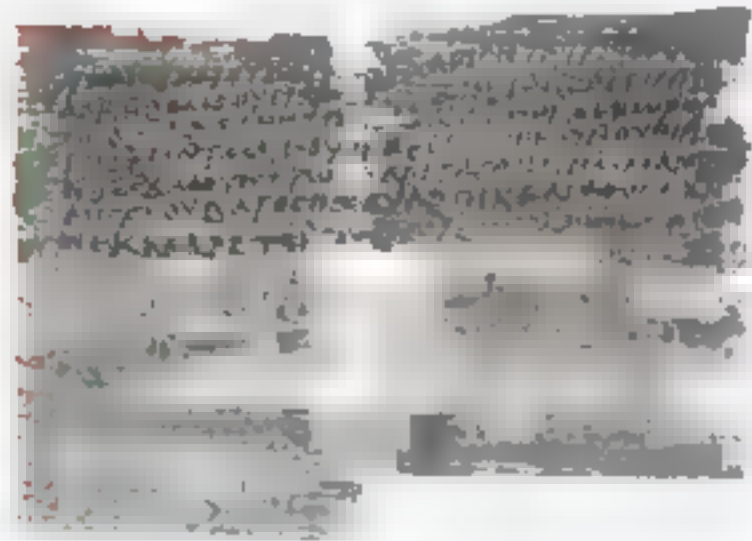
PCIYBR inv. 1843 r.

PLATE XVIII



44

P.Vindob. K. 4725 v



44

P.Vindob. K. 4725 r

PLATE XIX

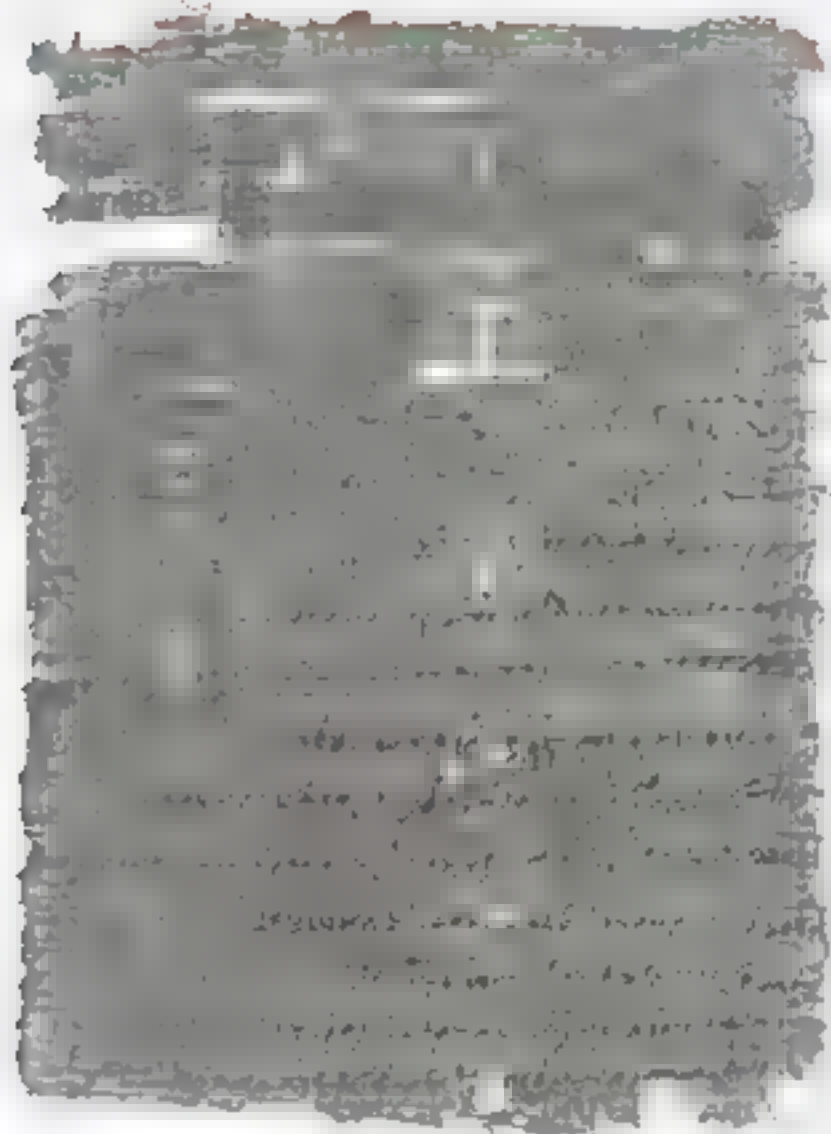


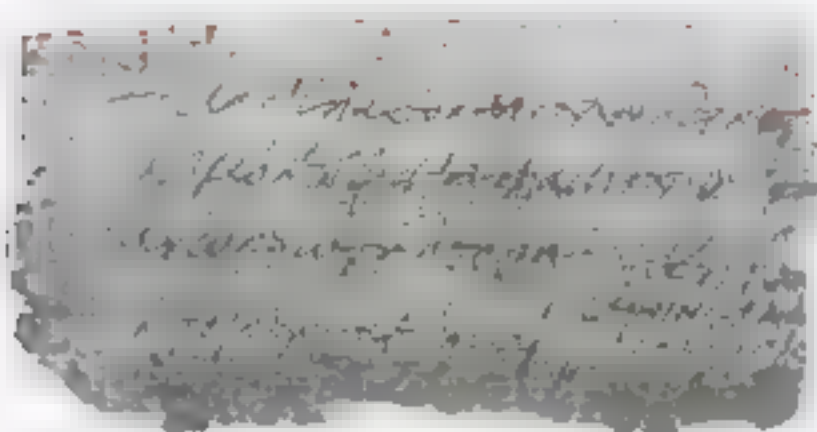
PLATE XX



46

Plants of Michael 2017

PLATE XXI



47

P. Monte Rocca inv. 549 v.



47

P. Monte Rocca inv. 549 r.

PLATE XXII



48

P. Monts. Rec. a. 195. 516 r



48

P. Monts. Rec. a. 195. 516 s

PLATE XXIII



49

P.Monts.Roca inv. 619



50

P.Monts.Roca inv. 713

PLATE XXIV



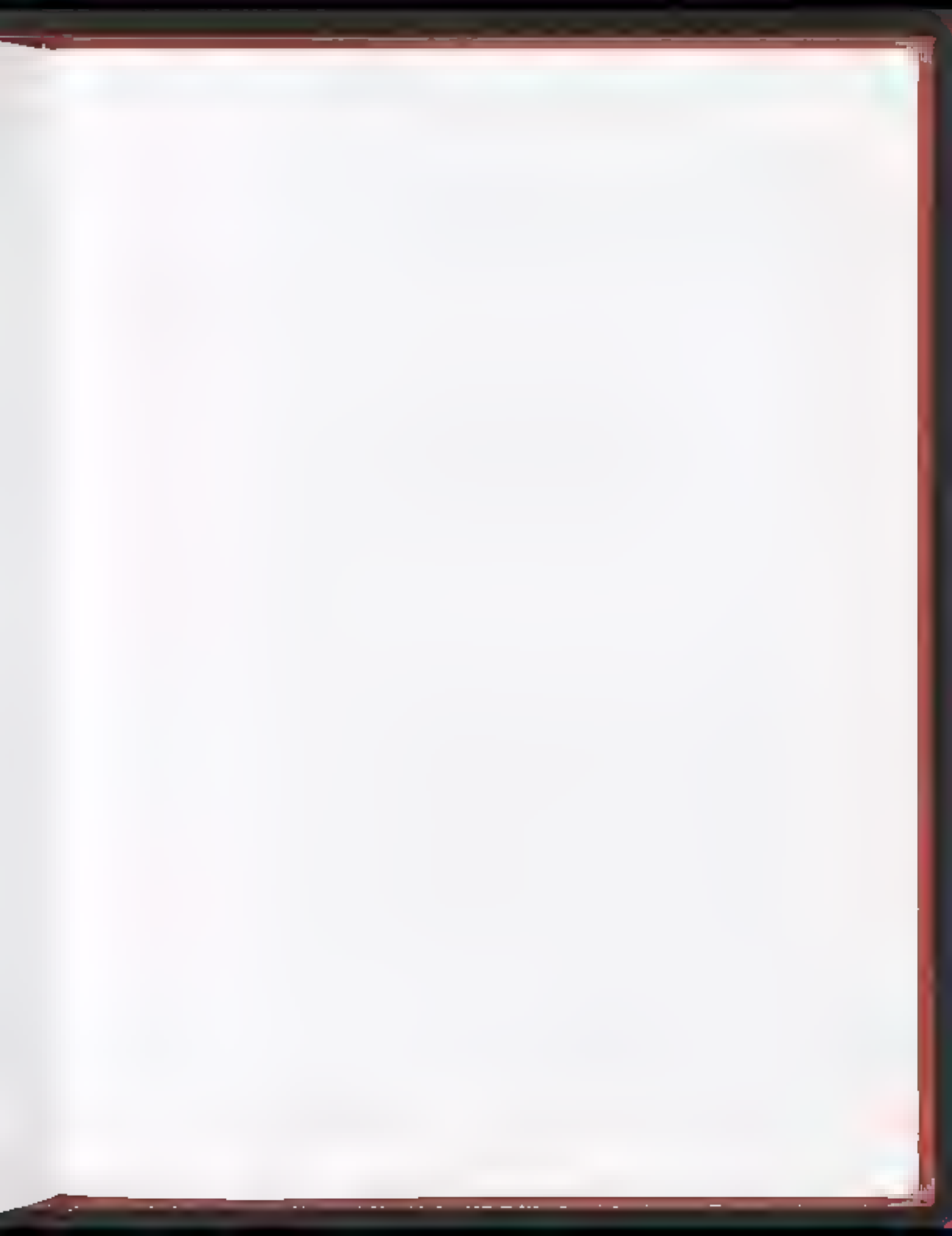
50

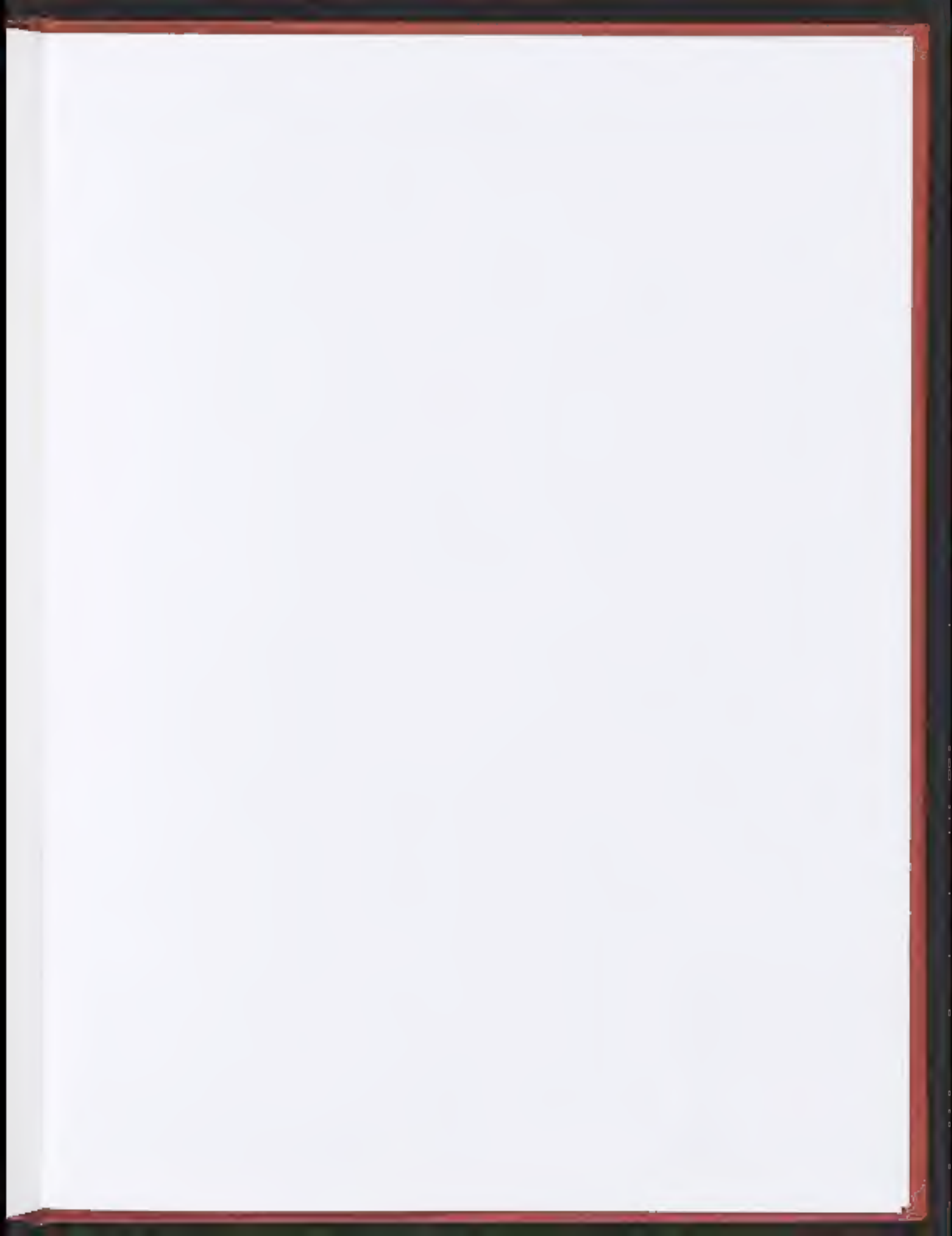
P.Monts Rougem. 713. Seal 111

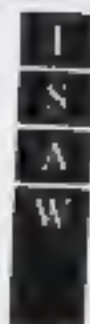


50

P.Monts Rougem. 713. Seal 127







Non-Circulating

15 E 54th Street
New York, NY 10022

